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OLD BURMA-EARLY PAGÁN

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Gold Repoussé Plate from Myinpagán

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OLD BURMA-EARLY PAGÁN

by

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assisted by

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the Staff of the

BURMA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

the

BURMA ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

and

MANY OTHER FRIENDS

VOLUME TWO
CATALOGUE OF PLATES
INDEXES

1970

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CATALOGUE
OF
PLATES

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Frontispiece. (Volume I) NANDA TEMPLE, PAGÁN.

Phot. Tin Oo. Text, pp. 357–373.

Frontispiece. (Volume II) GOLD REPOUSSÉ PLATE FROM MYINPAGÁN.

Neg. 455 (1906–07). Find-spot not stated.

The haloed Buddha, with ūrṇā, flame-tipped uṣṇīṣa, flaming nimbus, shoulder-ray gnomons and cushioned reredos, sits in *padmâsana* on lotus, touching Earth. On either side his *aggasāvakas*, right and left, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, kneel facing him in adoration, offering each a flower. Above, two crowned Devas stoop through the clouds, with both hands offering lotus buds. Branching sprays of the Bodhi tree behind.

In 1906–07 only one site at Pagán appears to have been excavated: Sitlè stupa (Pl. 210 d), "5 ft. S.E. of the Abèyadana temple". But this gold plate is not mentioned in the list of finds there (*ASB* 1907, pp. 9–10). The plate was deposited at Pagán Museum; but later it was stolen, and never recovered.

Frontispiece. (Volume III) A BODHISATTVA RIPE FOR BUDDHAHOOD.

(Abèyadana temple). Arch. Dept. drawing. Text, pp. 333–334. See also Plate 238 (c).

Plates 1 to 3. VIEWS OF PAGÁN.

Plate 1. *Pagán area. View to the S.E.*

Phot. Tin Oo.

Looking S.E. from Gawdawpallin temple near the river. In the foreground the road going S. to Myinpagán and Thiripyitsaya. On the left, Tharaba Gate is just visible. Then, as the eye moves S. across the middle distance: Shwegu-gyi – Nanda – Thatbyinnyu, with Ngă-kywè-nădaung and Nat-hlaung-gyaung to right of it – Păhtothămya in front, Dhammayan-gyi behind, city-wall and moat between – Shwéhsandaw – Minnanthu and Pwazaw in the distance – Tuywindaung on the horizon.

Plate 2. *Pagán city. View to W.NW.*

Phot. Tin Oo.

Looking W.NW. from Thatbyinnyu temple across the Irawady river to Mt. Tan-kyi. Nat-hlaung-gyaung in left foreground. Păhtothămya behind it. Ngă-kywè-nădaung stupa and a 'Mon' ruin in the centre. Gawdawpallin temple on the right.

Plate 3. *View from the N. to the S.E., across Pagán city and the river.*

Phot. Kyaw tun.

Near the top right of the print is Mt. Tan-kyi and its pagoda across the river. On the near side, moving S. along the river-bend: Mahābodhi temple and Bu Paya. Then Gawdawpallin. More inland,

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Shwegu-gyi. Then Thatbyinnyu and Nanda temples. S. of these, Shwéhsandaw and Mingalazedi stupas.

Plates 4 to 74. TERRACOTTA VOTIVE TABLETS.

Plates 4 to 14. ANIRUDDHA'S SEALS.

Plates 4, 5. *Fragments of large plaques at Maung Di pagoda, Khăbin.*

Text, pp. 16, 20, 98, 133, 259–260.

Neg. 7914 (Pl. 4); 7909 (Pl. 5 a); 2208 (Pl. 5 b); 7913 (Pl. 5 c); 2206 (Pl. 5 d); 2207 (Pl. 5 e).

U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 12 (a, b) and pp. 15–16.

Ref. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1915, pp. 14–17. *Mem. ASI*, No. 56, Pl. I 3.

Height of complete tablet: about 2 ft. 7 in. Breadth at base: 1 ft. 6 in. Thickness at base: 4½ to 6 in. Depth of rim: 4 in. or less.

Maung Di pagoda (Pl. 75) is ½ mile S.W. of Khăbin, between Twanté and Rangoon. Built by Aniruddha, perhaps *c.* 1050 A.D. The two upper octagonal terraces were lined with his largest, and probably earliest tablets, now all in fragments. Squared below, arching to a point above, they show single ETB on throne in shrine crowned with śikhara-stupa, with 7 stupas and foliage on each side. Incised on front of lower rim is the follg. Pali inscription in Mon script (first read by Duroiselle): –

eso bhagavā mahārāja śrī aniruddhadevena kato vimuttatthaṁ sahatthenevā ti

"This Blessed One was made by the great king, Śrī Aniruddha the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance."

Plate 6. *Single Earth-touching Buddha. Pagán, near Seinnyet.*

(a) Text, pp. 16, 98, 133–134.

Neg. 3375 (1930–31). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 1 (b) and pp. 3–6.

Ref. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, pp. 177–8, and Part II, Pl. XCIX d. Mon Bo Kay, *Yinkyé-hmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part 9 (Feb. 1961), p. 119.

Height 4¾ in. Breadth at base 2⅞ in.

Found in main relic-chamber of encased stupa close to ruined temple (No. 441) near Seinnyet pagodas, S. of Myinpagán. Rimless tablet squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border all around. ETB with high 'flame'–uṣṇīṣa and shoulder-nimbus, sits on double lotus between pellet pillars, with squared base, capitals and abacus, supporting a beaded trefoil śikhara-arch with stupa finial and streamers. Behind are 3 diminishing horizontal roofs, with branching peepal tree. 2 clear lines of mixed Pali/Sanskrit in high relief and fine Nāgarī script – the usual Buddhist 'Creed'. Read by Mon Bo Kay as follows: –

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā hetu(ṁ) teṣā(ṁ) tathāgato hyava-|dat = teṣā(ṁ) ca yo nirodha
evamvādī śrī anuruddhadeva

The plate in U Mya's article (XCIX a, b, c, d) deserves study. It shows not only the tablet, but also the encased stupa where he found it; the Khăbin (Twanté) pot also found there (our Pl. 452 b); and a

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Lokanātha tablet (our Pl. 54 c). Aniruddha was probably responsible for all of these. Note also his unique spelling of his name, *Anuruddha*. Elsewhere he always writes *Aniruddha*.

(b) *Neg.* B 648. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 1 (a).

Ref. ASB 1917, Pl. II B. *Mem. ASI*, No. 56, Pl. I 1.

Rimmed tablet almost identical with (a), and from the same site. Cracked.

At Mandalay Archaeological Office there is another good, but cracked specimen, with deep rims broken across the Nāgarī inscription at the base. I read the marking "I 4 (?)". If this should be I 44, it would refer to the same site, near the Seinnyet. Another rimmed specimen, marked I 230, is complete except for the top rim.

(c) *Single Earth-touching Buddha. Pagán, Shwéhsandaw.*

Text, pp. 15–16, 98, 134.

Neg. B 638 (1957–58). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 4 and 5, and p. 11.

Ref. ASI 1927, pp. 162–3 and Pl. XXXIX a. *ASI* 1916, p. 39, where Duroiselle emends Krishna Sastri's readings. Cf. *ASI* 1915, Part I, Pl. XX h, from Pagán.

From relic-chamber of Shwéhsandaw pagoda, Pagán. Rimless beaded oval tablet. The Buddha, with large uṣṇīṣa, sits between pellet pillars supporting a beaded trefoil arch, with umbrella above (no śikhara). 2 stupas, large and medium, on each side of the arch, with peepal sprays above. On either side of the double lotus are 2 broken lines of Sanskrit/Nāgarī in high relief, and 2 full lines below it. Mon Bo Kay reads: –

may = âni |ruddhade |vena |kṛtaṁ | sugatasa[ñc]akaṁ tena maitreya saṁbo |dho labheyan = nirvṛtto padaṁ

"By me, Aniruddha the divine, has been made this mould of the Blessed One. By this, may I obtain the path to Nirvāṇa when Maitreya is fully enlightened".

(d) 3 similar tablets from the same site.

Similar specimens of Aniruddha's Seal, marked I 197 and I 15, with the same Nāgarī inscription, have been found at the Shwéhsandaw (Pl. 22 a). For a specimen with a Mon inscription on the Reverse, offered by "Lord *Nawur*," see Pl. 22 b. Another, marked I 47, comes from "a small four-faced temple S.W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda": see Pl. 22 d.

Plate 7. (Cf. Pl. 54). *Bodhisattva Lokanātha, seated. Kanthit. Pagán.*

Text, pp. 16, 98, 132, 191–192.

(a, b) *Neg.* 4693, 4694 (1947–48). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 2, 3 and pp. 9–10.

Ref. U Mya's article in Burmese, *Yin-kyé-hmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part II, Feb. 1959, pp. 26–27. On p. 28 he gives a picture of the obverse, on p. 27 a picture of the underrim inscription.

Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. The Obverse is coated with gold leaf. From Kanthit village near Yezagyo, 21 miles N. of Pakôkku. Loaned to U Mya by U Ba Tin, headman of the village. U Mya returned the tablet to the owner without recording measurements. It was of normal size, he tells me, about 5 in. high and 3 in. broad, the rim-depth about ¼ in., so far as he can remember.

The Bodhisattva sits on 'leather' mat and double lotus, in *lalitâsana*, right leg hanging, left bent flat upon the mat. His right hand is stretched, palm open, over his right knee in *varada mudrā*; his

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left holds the stalk of lotus before the body. The lotus is seen in bud over his left shoulder, and another bud rises above his right. His head is tilted to the left. His crown of plaited hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) holds the figure of Amitābha Buddha seated in *dhyānamudrā*. He sits between two rounded pillars, with torus base and bead-hung abacus. They support a trefoil arch, crowned with a 'tongued' śikhara, stupa-finial and streamers. On each side, in tiers, are 2 stupas, large and medium, with a small stupa between the medium one and the śikhara, and a minute one leaning in towards the finial at the peak. Beaded border at the sides. Round the 3 sides of the base runs a line (or two) of Nāgarī inscription in high relief – the usual 'Credo', read by Mon Bo Kay as follows: –

ye dhamā he(tu) prabhavā hetu(ṁ) teṣā(ṁ) hetu tathāgato (hyavadat = teṣāṁ ca yo nirodho evaṁvādī) mahāsamana

Since there was not room at the bottom of the tablet, the final word is written above, outside the trefoil arch: *mahā* on the left side, *samana* on the right. For 2 other specimens found at Kanbè, E. of Twanté, without the underrim inscription, see Pl. 54 a, b.

(b) the same. Inscription on the underrim, 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

॥ eso lokanātho mahārā |ja sirī aniruddhadevena kato |vimuttatthaṁ sahatthenevā ti

"This *Lokanātha* (Lord of the World) was made by the great king *Sirī Aniruddha* the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance".

(c, d). Similar green-glazed, rimmed tablet (top half only) found on the image-throne of Shwegu-gyi, Pagán. Now at Pagán Archaeological Office.

Height 3+ in. Breadth 3¼+ in. Thickness 1 in. Lower half lost.

(c) *Obverse* identical in detail with that of Pl. 7 (a), but nothing left below neck of the Bodhisattva. Note rich green glaze (perhaps the oldest glazed work at Pagán).

(d) *Reverse.* Parts of 3 lines of Pali inscription visible: –

॥ eso bha |gavā mahārā |. .sirī aniruddha |. . . . . .

"This Blessed One, the great king *Sirī Aniruddha*. . . . . ."

Plates 8 a, b. *5 seated figures (Pagán). Aniruddha's Seals.*

Text, pp. 17, 98, 99, 192–193.

(a) *Neg.* 3112 (1928–29). ? U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 6, 7, and p. 12.

Ref. ASI 1929, p. 111, item 6.

Height 5¼ in. Breadth at base 3¾ in.

2 rimless tablets, squared below, arching to a point above. Found in relic-chamber of E. mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo temple. With high 'flame'-uṣṇīṣa and beaded shoulder-nimbus, the ETB sits on 'leather' mat, double lotus, and recessed throne with chevron beading. Two rounded pillars, with torus and capital hung with beads, support a trefoil arch above him. Three horizontal roofs are just visible behind, and bead-edged floral śikhara with stupa-finial and streamers. In tilted nimbus-arches 2 Bodhisattvas (Lokanātha and Maitreya ?) sit in *lalitâsana* to right and left of him, their outer legs hanging. The double lotuses on which they sit, spring from independent roots. Above them, in floral arches sit 2 small ETBs. Between them and the śikhara are peepal sprays, 2 starry bosses, and 6 small stupas leaning inwards. At the base are 2 lines of Sanskrit/Nāgarī in high relief, read by Mon Bo Kay as follows: –

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om. deyadharmo'yaṁ saccadānapatiḥ । ma |hārāja śrī aniruddhadevasya

"This is the pious gift of the donor of truth, the great king *Śrī Aniruddha* the divine". – Is *sacca* (or *sañca*, a possible reading) a mistake for *sañcaka-*, i.e. 'donor of the mould'? Cf. Pl. 12 a.

(b) Similar rimless tablets, marked I 120, found in relic-chamber under throne of seated Buddha in shrine of Kyazin temple, Myinpagán.

Neg. 3444 (1931–32).

Ref. ASI 1930–34, Part I, pp. 187–8, with U Mya's reading and account of the temple; Part II, Pl. CVI c.

Height $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{9}{16}$ in. Thickness $\frac{11}{16}$ in.

Similar seals of Aniruddha, marked I 373 and 374, were discovered in 1936–37 at Pagan, 2 in a ruined temple in Po Saw's field S. of Nagayôn, 2 in a mound N. of Nagayôn. See Pl. 71 c for a similar seal in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Cf. *ASB* 1913, p. 16, for 2 tablets "found at Pagan during the year, the legend of which is: –

sadharmo' yam saccadānapati mahārāja śrī aniruddhadevena....."

Plates 8 c. *Trilokavataṁsakā's Seal* (*Pagán*).

Text, pp. 74, 84, 98, 99, 192–193.

Neg. 3471 (1931–32). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 42 (a, b) and p. 31.

Ref. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 191, and Part II, Pl. CVIII d.

Found in relic-chamber of the northern of the two stupas in Po Saw's field, S.E. of Nagayôn. See U Mya's plate, where (b) shows the 'central stupa' where the tablet was found, and (c) a miniature stone stupa found within it. There were also "bricks marked with Pyu letters." The donor was a queen of Kyanzittha, mother of Rājakumār. Only 2 of the tablets were discovered, and both are lost. Only the photograph remains. U Mya tells me that, so far as his memory goes, the tablets were about 6 inches high and 4 inches broad.

Tablet squared below, arching to a point above. ETB sits on lotus throne under śikhara-arch resting on turned pillars, crowned with stupa and umbrella. Bodhisattvas (Lokanātha and Maitreya ?) sit in *lalitâsana* on lotus seats to right and left of him; 2 ETBs above them; and 2 small stupas between them and the umbrella at the apex. Below are 2 lines of Pali in Mon script in high relief, read by U Mya: –

eso bhagavā trilokavataṁsakā mahādevi |ya kato vimuttatthaṁ sahatthen' evā ti ॥

"This Blessed One was made by the great queen, Trilokavataṁsakā, with her own hands, for the sake of Deliverance."

Plate 9. 10 *Earth-touching Buddhas. Pagán. Chantha. Nwatélè.*

Text, pp. 17, 98, 131.

(a) *Neg.* 3107 (1928–29).

Ref. ASI 1929, p. 111.

Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Found at a roadside mound about 400 ft. S. of Htilominlo temple, Pagán. Rimless tablet squared below, arching to a point above. Beading at sides up to apex, but not at the bottom. The large

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central Buddha sits on mat, double lotus, and recessed throne with chevron beading. 2 rounded pillars, with torus and capital hung with beads, support a trefoil abacus-arch above him. 3 horizontal roofs just visible behind, and bead-edged floral śikhara with stupa-finial and streamers. 5 smaller ETBs sit on lotuses in a line below, and 2 more on each side in tiers – 10 altogether. The 2 smallest, at the top, sit in floral trefoil arches. The others have merely a lace-like background of nimbus-tracery. 3 stupas in tiers on each side separate the side and central Buddhas. There are 2 more small stupas and branching peepal sprays on each side of the śikhara. 1 line of compressed Nāgarī at the base in high relief. Mon Bo Kay reads the mixed Pali/Sanskrit 'Creed' as follows: –

(ye) dhamā hetuprabhavā hetu(ṁ) teṣā(ṁ) hetu(ṁ) tathāgato hyavadat = teṣāñ=ca yo nirodh(o) eva(ṁ)vādi mahāṣamaṇa

(b, c) Lower half of 2 similar tablets, only the 2 lowest rows of Buddhas, and line of Nāgarī at the base. Provenance unknown.

(d) Obverse, heavily gilded, of a similar deep-rimmed tablet, showing 10 ETBs. Found by Saya U Thaung, Inspector of Schools, near a tank W. of Chantha village, Yé-u township, Shwébo. Now on loan at Mandalay Archaeological Office. 1 line of Nāgarī inscription below.
Height 6 in. Breadth at base 5 in. Depth of rim 2 in.

(e) Reverse of (d), with 4 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

‖ eso bhagavā mahā |rāja sirī aniruddhade |vena kato vimutta |tthaṁ sahatthenevā ti

"This Blessed One was made by the great king *Sirī Aniruddha* the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance".

(f) Similar deep-rimmed tablet (not gilded) showing 10 ETBs. Found at Nwatélè (Nwatălè) deserted village, a mile from Nga-o on the river Shweli, in the far north of Möng Mit State, about 15 miles from Katha, and 20 from In-ywa at the Shweli mouth – the northernmost point where Aniruddha's Seals have so far been recovered.
Text, pp. 17, 28.
U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 68 a and p. 51.
Ref. ASB 1948, pp. 8–9. *Neg.* 4664 (1947–48).
Height 6¾ in. Breadth at base 5½ in. Rim 2 in. deep.

(g) Reverse of (f), with 3 lines of Pali engraved in Mon script. Reading as in (e.)
Neg. 4665 (1947–48). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 68 b and p. 51.

Cf. also Pl. 14 a, b, c, from Pagán, Myinpyagu. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 11 and pp. 14–15. At *ASB* 1938, p. 7, Duroiselle mentions "a broken terracotta votive tablet bearing numerous effigies of the Buddha, with a line of writing in Nāgarī characters which is the usual Buddhist formula: 'ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā' etc. On the under-surface of the lower rim the well-known Anoratha's seal in Pāli in Burmese characters: 'eso bhagavā mahārājā sirī aniruddha' etc. It was discovered on the 2nd terrace of the Shwehsandaw pagoda, Pagán".

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Plate 10. 31 *seated figures. West Hpetleik.*

Text, pp. 17, 98, 99, 192–193.

Neg. 444 (1906–07). Cf. U Mya, *VTB*, I, Pl. 10 and p. 14.

Ref. ASB 1907, p. 27 (Nos. 443–445).

Height about 7 in. Breadth 4¾ in. Thickness 1½ in.

(a) Rimmed tablet found at W. Hpetleik pagoda, Thiripyitsaya. Rim mostly lost except at base. Right side slightly damaged. Tablet squared at base, arching to a point above. Beaded border at sides, but not at base. The large central ETB, with beaded shoulder-nimbus, sits on mat, double lotus, and indented and recessed throne. Rounded pillars, with torus and abacus (no beading), support a trefoil arch over him, and a bead-edged floral śikhara with stupa-finial. Streamers and peepal-sprays to right and left. On either side of the throne sit Bodhisattvas with outward-tilted heads, in *lalitâsana*, their outer legs hanging, their outer hands resting on knee in *varada mudrā*, their inner hands raised before the body, holding the curling stems of flowers. The one on the left of the throne is Lokanātha, the one on the right probably Maitreya. Around these 3 figures are grouped the 28 ETBs. in 5 rows: top row 4 with 2 stupas at each end; 2nd row 6; 3rd row 6; 4th row 4 (and the 2 Bodhisattvas); lowest row 8. Each Buddha sits erect on lotus-mat within his beaded shoulder-nimbus. At the base is a line of Sanskrit/Nāgarī in high relief, read by Mon Bo Kay: –

om. kṛtiriyaṁ rājñaḥ śrī aniruddhadevasya

"This is the work of the monarch *Śrī Aniruddha* the divine".

(b) Underrim inscription engraved on the same, or a similar tablet from the same site – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

Neg. 7632 (1957–58). Cf. *Neg.* 443 (1906–07), where the same underrim inscription is shown, together with another from the same site, not so perfect. See also Pl. 11 h, i.

A similar seal, deep-rimmed, almost complete except for the bottom right rim, is at Mandalay Arch. Office. It is marked I 332, from Pagán. The underrim inscription is incomplete; but ..*(ni)ruddha-devena* is clear.

Plate 11. 31 *seated figures cont. Pagán. Paunglin. Hsameikshé.*

(a) Lower left corner of a similar tablet, marked I 88, from Pagán. Part of the central Buddha is visible, the two Bodhisattvas, and 2 of the Buddhas of the lowest row but one; and the lowest row and line of Sanskrit/Nāgarī almost complete. This line, stamped in high relief, reads as in Pl. 10 a:–

om. kṛtiriyaṁ rājñaḥ śrī aniruddhadevasya

(b) Underrim inscription on (a) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script, almost complete. Readings as in Pl. 9 e. Cf. *Neg.* 1113 B (1912–13). *I.B.*, Pl. V 568 a, tablet from Shwéhsandaw pagoda, Pagán.

(c) Lower right corner of a similar tablet, marked I 343, from Pagán. The central Buddha, 1 Bodhisattva (Maitreya), and 13 other ETBs in 4 rows are visible; also part of the line of Nāgarī below them: –

.....jñaḥ śrī aniruddhadevasya

(d) Bottom fragment of a similar rimmed tablet from Pagán, showing the lowest row and line of Nāgarī complete.

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(e) Top part of a similar tablet, marked I 361 (?), from Pagán, showing only the top 4 rows.

(f) Lower left corner-fragment of a similar tablet, marked I 209, from Pagán. Most of the lowest row is visible, and the line of Nāgarī in high relief: –

om. kṛtiriyaṁ rājñaḥ śrī aniru(ddha)....

(g) Underrim inscription on fragment (f) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script, incomplete at the far ends. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

(h) Lower half of similar rimmed tablet, marked "30" in Burmese. It shows the bottom two rows and line of Nāgarī complete: –

om. kṛtiriyaṁ rājñaḥ śrī aniruddhadevasya

(i) Underrim inscription on fragment (h) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script, complete. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

Note that (h), (i) are identical with Pl. 10 a, b – all that remains of this fine W. Hpetleik seal.

Note. Duroiselle (*ASB* 1912, p. 19, para 59; cf. 1911, p. 27, para 71) reported votive tablets, apparently similar, from Paunglin, Minbu: – "2 terracotta tablets were found in an old pagoda at Paunglin, Salin Subdivision, Minbu district. On them was depicted the 28 Buddhas, with Gautama in the middle in the state of attaining enlightenment. In the 4th row, Gautama is flanked by Mañjusiri, a being unknown to the southern school of Buddhism, who sits in the *lalitamudrā* (with the right leg hanging down). Below the 5th row of the Buddhas is a legend in Sanskrit, which has been deciphered and translated by the learned Government Epigraphist as follows: – kṛitir-iyam rājā śrī aniruddhadevasya. 'This is the work of the glorious king Aniruddhadeva'. On the lower rim of each tablet is an inscription in Pali, whose interpretation is: 'This votive tablet was made by His Majesty Aniruddhadeva with his own hands, with a view to attain Nirvāna'..."

For other seals of Aniruddha from Minbu, see *ASB* 1906, p. 10, para 36. Tablets with 31 figures signed by Aniruddha were also found by Duroiselle at "a small ruined pagoda near the Mingalazedi on the road to Myinkaba" (*ASI* 1927, p. 169). Another signed by Aniruddha (.....*yaṁ rājaḥ śrī aniruddhadeva*....) was reported by Duroiselle at Hsameikshé, Meiktila district (*ASB* 1922, p. 10; *ASI* 1922, pp. 90–91; 1937, p. 165).

Plate 12. 50 *Earth-touching Buddhas.*

Text, pp. 17, 98, 131.

(a) Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 8, 9 and pp. 13–14.

Tablet marked I 191, from Pagán, with deep rims broken at top and bottom; squared below, arching to a point above. Almost complete. It shows 3 umbrellas in the apex, above 50 ETBs, all of one size. Each Buddha sits on double lotus in beaded panel, with a small stupa between his nimbus and those of the Buddhas next to him. There are 6 rows: 6 Buddhas, flanked by 2 small stupas at each end, in the top row; 8 in the 2nd row; 9 in each of the 4 lower rows: total 50. Below, is 1 line of Pali in Nāgarī script, high relief, read by Mon Bo Kay: –

om. sa(ñ)cakadānapati mahārāja śrī aniruddhadevena kato bhagavo

"This Blessed One was made by the great king Śrī Aniruddha the divine, donor of the mould".

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(b) Similar deep-rimmed tablet with "124" (?) faintly inked on the back. Complete except for rim at the top. A comparison of (a) and (b) enables one to estimate the size of the complete tablet: – Height approx. 7 in. Breadth 5 in. Thickness 1½ in.

(c) Underrim inscription on (b) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.
Neg. 7637 (1957–58).

(d) Similar deep-rimmed tablet, with top right half lost. Marked I 209, from Pagán.

(e) Detail of the last row of Buddhas in (d), including the line of Nāgarī. Reading as in (a) above.

(f) Underrim inscription on (d).

At Mandalay Arch. Office there are 2 such rimmed tablets, marked I 209, fragments, but both have underrim 'seal' and line of Nāgarī on obverse more or less complete. A small underrim fragment, marked I 255, from Pagán, bears the usual Pali/Mon 'seal' of Aniruddha; the obverse, in the Burmese register, is stated to show "many Buddhas". "Tablet G", as described by Duroiselle at *ASB* 1915, pp. 36–37, is also of this type. It appears to come from Pagán.

Plate 13. 50 *Earth-touching Buddhas cont. Pagán. Minbu. Śrīkṣetra.*

(a) Lower half of similar rimmed tablet, marked I 210 (1926), from Pagán Shwéhsandaw pagoda. Shows the lowest 2½ rows of ETBs, and line of Nāgarī almost complete. Reading as in Pl. 12 a.

(b) Underrim inscription on (a) – 2 lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

(c) Lower third of similar tablet, from Pagán, without legible number. Shows the 2 lowest rows of ETBs., and line of Nāgarī complete.

(d) Underrim inscription on (c) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.
Neg. B/137 (1953–54).

(e) *Neg.* 452 (1906–07). U Mya, *VTB*, I Pls. 70, 71 and p. 52.
Bottom fragment of similar tablet from Minbu (probably Paunglin), showing the lowest row of Buddhas, and the line of Pali/Nāgarī complete. Reading as in Pl. 12 a.

(f) Underrim inscription on (e) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script; beginning of line 3 damaged. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.
Neg. 453 (1906–07).
Ref. ASB 1906, p. 10 (para 36); 1907, App. E, Nos. 452, 453. Text, p. 17.

Fragments of Aniruddha's 50–Buddha tablet were also discovered by General de Beylié and others, in the interior of Bawbawgyi pagoda, Śrī Kṣetra, with parts, at least, of the Pali/Nāgarī inscription at the base. This was first correctly read by Venkayya, then misread, then finally corrected by Duroiselle with the help of 2 similar tablets from Paunglin, Minbu district. See *ASI* 1908, pp. 41–42; 1912, p. 144 and Pl. LXVIII, fig. 2; *ASB* 1912, p. 13; 1913, p. 16.

Plate 14. *Aniruddha's Seals. Reverses and underrim inscriptions, etc.*

(a, b, c) An Obverse and 2 Reverses of fragmentary tablets marked I 206 A, from Myinpyagu temple, Pagán. When complete, they showed 10 ETBs. (cf. Pl. 9). (a), the Obverse, shows most of the last

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row of Buddhas and the line of Nāgarī at the base. (c) is the Reverse of (a). (b) is a similar reverse from the same site. Readings as in Pl. 9 e, but incomplete.
Cf. *ASB* 1922, App. G, p. 44, *Neg.* 9, 10 (3 or 2 lines of Pali, by Aniruddha, atMyinpyagu).
Text, p. 49.

(d) 2 'seals' from reverse and underrim of tablets found at Pagán Shwéhsandaw. Each has 3 complete lines of Pali in Mon script.
Reading as in Pl. 9 e.
Neg. 356 (1905–06).
Ref. ASB 1906, App. E., p. 28, No. 356.

(e) *Neg.* 1113 A (1912–13).
Cf. *ASB* 1913, App. I, Nos. 1108–1121. Votive tablets from Pagán Museum.
Seal of Aniruddha on the underrim of a broken tablet marked on the back I 72 (1930–31), from Pagán. The Obverse (not shown) illustrated the 50 Buddhas. Now only the 3 lower rows and line of Nāgarī remain. On the underrim there are 3 slightly damaged lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

(f) *Neg.* B 640 (1957–58). Cf. *I.B.*, Pl. V 568 a. From Pagán Shwéhsandaw.
Underrim inscription – 3 clear lines of Pali in Mon script. Reading as in Pl. 9 e.

(g) 2 fragmentary underrim seals of Aniruddha, now at Mandalay Arch. Office. The upper seal, marked I 84, is part of a 50–Buddha tablet from Pagán Shwéhsandaw. Pali in Mon script. Readings as in Pl. 9 e, but incomplete.

Plates 15 to 21. OTHER SEALS OF ROYALTY.

Plate 15. *Śrī Bajrābharaṇa. Mergui* (*Pali inscr.*). *Pagán, Mandalay, Tagaung, Kanthida* (*seals*).
Text, pp. 26, 28[115], 36, 46, 49.

(a) *Neg.* B/645 (1957–58). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 39 and p. 28.
Ref. *Bull. de la Comm. Archéol. de l'Indochine*, 1909, p. 237 and fig. 28 (p. 236); *ibid.*, 1910, pp. 148, 153. *ASB* 1907, p. 13, para 32; 1911, pp. 26 and 41, App. G, No. 6; 1919, p. 25, para 46, n. 9. *I.B.*, Pl. V 548 a and Index of Plates.
Top fragment of a stone inscription (Pali, in Mon script) found near Mergui, perhaps in Maung-law-kwin. It was originally set up by an early king of Pagán, *Śrī Bajrābharaṇa*, probably the king now known as Sawlu. For its discovery (probably by R. Grant-Brown) and description by Lunet de Lajonquière and Finot, see Text, ch. II, note 100, and ch. III, p. 46; also my article "Some old references to the south of Burma and Ceylon" in the Siam Society's *Felicitation Volumes of S. E. Asian Studies*, Vol. II, Nov. 7th 1965, pp. 272, 279–280. The stone was placed in Rangoon Phayre Museum, and later in the hall of Rangoon University Library, where it was blown to bits in the destruction of that building by the Japanese. The print shown here, though smaller, is fuller than the rubbing photographed in *I.B.* In the top arch of the stone, above the line of beading, there is a fine relief-carving of ETB, seated on 'leather' mat and lotus seat amid a giant forest of coiling lotus.

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(b) Text, pp. 46, 98, 292.
Neg. 3511 (1931–32). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 36, 37 and pp. 26–27.
Height 8¾ in. Breadth at base 6 in.

Terracotta tablet, marked I 135, found at Myinpyagu temple, Pagán. Now in 3 fragments at Mandalay Arch. Office. Deep-rimmed and squared up to the shoulder-wings, then arching to a point. The rim-faces are patterned in arabesque. Within the rims the sides are beaded up to the peak. At top centre is an umbrella between sprays of peepal. Below these are 6 rows of ETBs., all of one size: 6 Buddhas in the top row, with a small stupa at each end; 8 Buddhas in the 2nd row; 9 each in the 4 lower rows: total 50. As on Aniruddha's 50-Buddha tablets (Pls. 12, 13), there is a small stupa between the beaded nimbi of each pair of Buddhas. The line of Sanskrit/Nāgarī at the base is read by Mon Bo Kay: –

oṁ rājñaḥ śrī vajrābharaṇadevasya...

(c) Underrim inscription on (b) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

eso bhagavā mahārāja sirī bajrā |bharaṇadevena kato vimuttatthaṁ saha |tthenevā ti

"This Blessed One was made by the great king *Sirī Bajrābharaṇa* the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance." Cf. *Neg.* 3512 (1931–32).

(d) *Neg.* 4738 (1949–50). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 38 and p. 27.
Ref. ASB 1948–52, Pl. I (fig. on right side), and p. 7, where the reading is wrongly given as: etakā mahātā naraṇanda vanṇalaḥ ‖ (see *infra*).
Height 5 ⅖ in. Breadth at base 3⅓ in. Thickness ⅘ in.

Tablet squared below arching to a point above. Beaded border all around. Found at a 'Thein' at Nan-u-taik, S. of Mandalay. Shows ETB seated on lotus throne between turned pillars supporting trefoil arch, śikhara and stupa-finial. Streamers and peepal leaves at sides. Lotus 'trees' in the lower corners, with 2 medium and 1 small stupa on each side. 1 line of Nāgarī writing at base.

A similar tablet, with top right corner broken, has also been found at Tagaung, Ôdôk pagoda (Text, p. 28). On hearing from Mon Bo Kay that these were votive tablets of Sawlu, we wrote to ask U Mya to verify the reading given above. The gist of his reply (in Burmese) is that the *ASB* reading, based on a single plaque faintly inscribed, is wrong; that since then, many similar plaques have been found at Kanthida Old City, Katha district, as well as others from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung; and that Mon Bo Kay is right in reading the title *Śrī Bajrābharaṇa*. – This king, doubtless Aniruddha's son Sawlu, appears to have reigned at least from Katha in the north to Mergui in the south. Mon Bo Kay's reading, confirmed by the Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. D. C. Sircar, is: –

mahā śrīmad = bajrābharaṇadevasya bhiraḥ

"The load (of offerings ?) of the great and glorious Bajrābharaṇa the divine."

(e) Similar tablet of Śrī Bajrābharaṇa from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung now in the possession of Prof. Daw Thin Kyi, Rangoon University. Phot. Tin Oo.

(f) Detail of line of Nāgarī at base of (e). Reading as in Mon Bo Kay's version of (d).
Phot. Tin Oo.

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Note. After enquiries, Col. Ba Shin informs me that the old walled city of 'Kanthida', mentioned under (d), is "in the Forest Reserve near Pyindaung village, Inywa circle, Katha township." – The site should be worth excavating, together with the neighbouring Nwatélè site where Aniruddha's northernmost plaques (Pl. 9 f, g) were found.

Plate 16. *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya. 50 Earth-touching Buddhas. Pagán.*

Text, pp. 52, 98, 131.

Neg. 2777 (1926–27). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 40, and pp. 28–30.

Ref. Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, p. 170 and Pl. XXXIX (d).

Height 7¼ in. Breadth at base 5¼ in. Thickness at base with rim 1 5/16 in.

(a) Tablet marked I 187 (1926) on the back, from a "big temple E. of Nagayôn". Squared below, arching above, it has large rims damaged at the bottom and top right corner of the Obverse. At the top is an umbrella and sprays of the Bodhi tree. Below, are 50 ETBs, all of one size, seated in 6 rows: 7 in the top row, with a small stupa at each end; 7 in the 2nd row, with a larger stupa at each end; 9 in each of the 4 lower rows: total 50. Each Buddha sits in a beaded nimbus-arch under an umbrella (no stupas between them). At the base is a Sanskrit/Pali line in high relief, half in Nāgarī, half in Mon script: –

Śrī(ya) tribhuvanādityadevasya | śrī tribhuvanādityadhammarājasa

(b) Detail of lowest row of (a), and line of writing below it.

(c) Similar tablet, broken at top left corner, but otherwise complete with rims. Found in ruined stupa E. of Mingalazedi pagoda. *Neg.* 3513 (1931–32).

(d) Underrim inscription on (c) – 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

(sr)i tribhuvanādityadhammarājena attano a|tthena buddhabhāvāya aggitā patimā i|mā ‖

Pe Maung Tin translates: – "This image, of burnt (clay), (has been made by) *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* for his own benefit, for the attainment of Buddhahood."

Neg. 3514 (1931–32). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 41.

Plate 17. *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya. 50 Earth-touching Buddhas, cont. Pagán.*

(a) Bottom left corner of the Obverse of a similar rimmed 50–Buddha tablet (No. 264 ?), of which the underrim inscription is the lower one shown in (c) below. The Obverse shows 7 of the seated Buddhas in the lowest row, and 5 in the row above; also the Nāgarī title of the king, and part of the Mon title, at the base.

(b) Bottom left corner of the Obverse of a similar rimmed 50–Buddha tablet, marked 171 (1931–32), from a ruined stupa E. of Mingalazedi pagoda. It shows the left half of 5 rows of seated Buddhas, and half of the line of inscription at the base. It is a fragment – all that remains – of Pl. 16 c *supra*.

(c) 2 fragmentary underrim inscriptions formerly stored at Kyanzittha Ônhmin, Pagán. The upper one is under tablet (b) *supra*, and is clearly identical with Pl. 16 d, though damaged at the end of the 2nd line. The lower one also has 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

‖ sīrī tribhuvanāditya(dha)....|na attano hatthe buddha(bhā)...itā patimā imā ‖

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"This image of burnt clay (?) (has been made) by *Śrī Tribhuvanâditya*...with his own hand, for the attainment of Buddhahood."

(d) Bottom right corner of the Obverse of a similar 50–Buddha tablet, numbered 88/57 in Burmese. It shows 5 seated Buddhas in each of the 2 lowest rows, and 2 or 3 in the row above. The Mon title of the king is clear at the base: – śrī tribhuvanādityadhammarāj(assa).

(e) Fragmentary Pali inscription in Mon script on underrim of (d) *supra*: – ....(t)yadhammarājena a|.....aṅgitā....

Note. Lu Pe Win (*ASB* 1941, pp. 31, 32) reported: – "A terracotta tablet bearing Kyanzittha's seal in seven lines was discovered in a Mon temple No. 418 (gha) on the west of the main road a mile south of the Lokananda Pagoda." – Can the learned author have confused Kyanzittha's title with Narathu Kulagya's? For the latter's tablets, see *infra*, Pl. 19.

Plate 18. *Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavara.* 100 *Earth-touching Buddhas, Pagán. Pakhan-ngè.*
Text, pp. 84, 98.

(a) *Neg.* 3473 (1931–32). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 46 and pp. 35–36 (attributed to Narapatisithu). Height 8½ in. Breadth at base 5½ in. Thickness ⅞ in.

Rimmed tablet, squared at the base, arching to a point above, beaded at the sides up to apex. Found in an encased stupa with square basement in Po Saw's field S.E. of Nagayôn. It is the first to show 100 ETBs. There are 10 rows of them, all of one size, under umbrella and sprays of Bodhi trees in the apex: in the top row, 5 Buddhas with a stupa at each end; in the 2nd row 9; in the 3rd row 9, with a stupa at each end; then 7 rows with 11 Buddhas in each: total 100. Each Buddha sits on double lotus mat within beaded nimbus-arch with abacus at shoulders. Background plain (no umbrella or stupa). Below, there is 1 line of Pali in Mon script, in high relief: –

śrī tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarājā dānapati

This is the royal title of Alaungsithu, grandson and successor of Kyanzittha.

(b) Enlarged photograph of a similar tablet dug up somewhere at Pagán, presented to the Burma Arch. Dept. by Mr Konrad Bekker of the U.S.A. Embassy, Rangoon, He also supplied the photograph.

(c) Pali inscription of 4 lines, finely engraved in Mon script on the Reverse of the lower half of a similar tablet, marked I 156, found in a niche in an encased pagoda S. of Myinkaba village: –

....(saha)ssabuddharūpaṁ|... dhammarājapaṇḍi|tena kāritaṁ vimutta|hattatthenā ti ||o||

"(This) image of a thousand Buddhas was made by....Dhammarājapaṇḍita, with a view to Deliverance".

At the base of the Obverse is a faint inscription identical with those shown in (a) and (b) of this plate. See *Neg.* 3130 (1928–29); the fragment was found in a mound W. of Sômingyi pagoda. Another fragment, marked I 213 (1927–28), is said to come from a mound N. of Sômingyi pagoda. A broken specimen (5¼ in. broad) with only the top lost, comes from "a mound with

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temple and encased *cetī* S. of Myinkaba village (1931–32)." These fragments are now at Mandalay Arch. Office. Recently Col. Ba Shin has found a fragment with the *pavara* signature S. of Pakhan-ngè village, Magwé district, 8 miles S. of Salé.

Plate 19. *Śrī Tribhuvanādityavara.* 100 Earth-touching Buddhas. Pagán.

Text, pp. 98, 117–118.

(a) Height 8¾ in. Breadth at base 5¾ in. Thickness 1¾ in.

Rimmed tablet (rim damaged at the top), marked I 320 on the reverse, from Pagán. Squared at the base, arching to a point above, it is beaded at the sides up to the apex, where there is an umbrella between sprays of the Bodhi tree. Below, there are 10 rows of ETBs, all of one size: 5 in the top row, with a stupa at each end; 9 in the 2nd row; 9 in the 3rd row, with a stupa at each end; then 7 rows with 11 Buddhas in each: total 100. Each Buddha sits on double lotus, within beaded nimbus-arch with abacus at the shoulders. Background plain (no umbrella or stupa).

The arrangement is identical with that of Pl. 18, except that there is no writing at the base of the Obverse. Perhaps the son used unstamped tablets prepared for the king his father, and engraved his own inscriptions on the reverse.

(b) The Reverse of (a), marked I 320, with 6 lines of Pali inscription incised in Mon script: –

sirī tribhuvanādi|tyavara dhammadisaṁpati| akāsi buddhapaṭimaṁ i|maṁ saṁbodhipattiyā ti|srī tribhuvanādityavara| dhammarājā dānapati

"*Sirī Tribhuvanādityavara dhamma*[*rājā*] lord of the points of the compass, made this Buddha-image, for the sake of attaining perfect Buddhahood. (Signed) *Srī Tribhuvanādityavara dhammarājā* the donor."

(c) Similar tablet from Pagán, with rim at base somewhat damaged, otherwise in perfect condition. Now at Rangoon University Library. – Obverse. Phot. Tin Oo.

(d) The Reverse of (c), with 7 lines of Pali inscription in Mon script, almost the same as in (b). Phot. Tin Oo.

Note. Cf. *Neg.* 2300, 2301 (1922–23) – obverse and reverse of a similar tablet from Myinkaba. Also *I.B.*, Pl. V 568 b, c – obverse and reverse of a similar tablet found in a mound S.W. of Sômingyi pagoda. 10 or more similar tablets are to be seen in Mandalay Arch. Office. One is said to come from a pagoda near the Myazedi on the north; one from a small pagoda E. of Abèyadana; one (I 218) from a mound W. of Sômingyi pagoda; one (I 217) from the Myinpyagu; one (I 215) from the westernmost of 3 ruined pagodas S.W. of Myazedi; one (I 329) "from Pagán"; one, marked 1955–56, is "from a pagoda mound on the E. side of the branch road from Pagán to Taungbi"; one is numbered I 172. There are several minor variants or mistakes in the Pali inscriptions on the reverses. Another, from U Pyant's field E of Seinnyet, is described at *ASB* 1938, p. 8. A tablet found near Abèyadana is shown at *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 5 and p. 133. I have not got the volume; but it is probably of the same type.

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 43 (a, b) and pp. 31–32. He attributes these tablets to Alaungsithu. Those with inscription on the reverse I attribute to *Im-taw-syaṅ* (Narathu Kulágya).

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Plate 20. *Mon tablets from Môkti pagoda, Tavoy.*

Text, pp. 26–27, 100.

(a) A specimen tablet recently recovered from the site – 6 miles S.SE. of Tavoy – by Mr David Steinberg of the Asia Foundation. A deep-rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. It shows ETB seated on double lotus, under beaded trefoil arch with abacus resting on rounded pillars. The arch is crowned with umbrella (no śikhara). 3 (or more) stupas in tiers on each side. – Obverse. Phot. D. Steinberg. Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 79 and pp. 59–60.

(b) Reverse of (a), with 7 lines of Old Mon inscription written vertically up the plaque: –

kyāk buddha tirley wo' |ḍik tirla' poy gna smiṅ srī |tribhowanādityadhammarāc sumbeṅ | y(aṅ =)khī ma maṅ dawāy ma lāt kā |l tirla poy das kyāk (ci ey) | ḍik or go' das a(rhan) | twās tirla'

"This Lord Buddha was stamped by me, servant of our lord His Majesty *Srī Tribhovanāditya-dhammarāc*, the *sumbeṅ Yaṅ Khī* (?), who guards Tavoy. When our lord becomes a Buddha, may I be enabled to become a saint, disciple of my lord!"

Phot. D. Steinberg. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 80 and pp. 59–60. Cf. *ASB* 1959, Pl. 31.

(c) *Neg.* 2434 (1923–34). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 78 and pp. 57–58. *ASB* 1924, pp. 38–40, para 41.

Reverses of two other votive tablets found "in a paddy-field near Mokti village, Tavoy, not far from Mokti pagoda". One shows 6 lines of Old Mon inscription, written vertically up the plaque: –

(..) kyāk buddha tirley |wo' ḍik tirla poy gna | smriṅ srih tribhovanāditya |dhammarāc saṁmbeṅ (anan)tajeyya |bhikrān ma m(aṅ dawāy ma) | lāt busac t(uy)

"This Lord Buddha has been stamped and dedicated by a servant of our lord His Majesty *Srih Tribhovanādityadhammarāc*, the *saṁmbeṅ Anantajeyyabhikrān*, who guards Tavoy."

(d) *Neg.* 2435 (1923–24).

Reverses of 2 other tablets from the same site, with 5 lines of Old Mon inscription: –

kalan pwo |ṅ ma lāt kyek kon | brow phun phlañ ma kandam ti' ‖

"The *kalan Pwoṅ*" [Old Burm. 'Blossom'] "stamped (this) Buddha. (My) daughter, *Phun-phlañ*" [Old Burm. 'Fulfilling Virtue'] "made the clay" (*lit.* earth).

Ref. ASB 1924, pp. 38–40, para 41. "About 300 terracotta votive tablets, each measuring about 4½ inches in height, of which about 150 are said to be in a good state of preservation." Duroiselle was sent 8 of these, but only four "were pretty well preserved..... They are all in Talaing.... The writing is cursive...."

Plate 21. *Seals of Queen Ci'peh.*

Text, p. 98.

(a) Upper half of a tablet marked I 74 (1929–30), from a mound at Tawya-gyaung, S. of Myinpagán. It shows the Buddha, probably touching Earth, within a beaded trefoil arch, below umbrella and peepal sprays. There are 2 stupas, large and small, on each side of the arch. The tablet, probably oval in shape, has a beaded border at the sides up to the apex. – Obverse.

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(b) The Reverse of (a), with 4+ lines of Old Mon: –

wo' ey ci | pe ma lāt kyā |k wo' kin.....s...

"It is I, *Ci Pe*, who stamped this Buddha (and made ?)....."

(c) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 33 and p. 25.

Small tablet with deep rims, squared at the base, arching steeply to a point at the top. Shows ETB with beaded halo, seated on lotus cushion, with high indented and recessed throne below. No arch or śikhara. One tall stupa on each side of throne. Peepal leaves above. Beading at the sides up to the peak.

(d, e, f) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 34 (a, b, c)

Ref. ASB 1959, Pl. 29 (a, b, c).

Old Mon inscription engraved on the Reverse of (c) – 5 lines, continued with 1 line on underrim, and 1 on the right side rim: –

(d) imaṁ bu |ddhapaṭi [*for* paṭimaṁ] ci |pe ti nāme |na raño ma |hesiyā

(e) sa'ha-

(f) tthena akitaṁ

"This image of the Buddha was made, with her own hands, by Queen *Ci Pe*, the Chief Queen."

(g) Obverse of another tablet similar to (c) *supra*.

(h) Reverse of (g) – 4 lines of Old Mon, engraved: –

wo' |buddharūpaṁ | g(na)'kyāk | ci' peh

"This is the Buddha-image of Queen *Ci'peh*."

Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base 2 in.

Ref. ASB 1959, Pl. 30.

Note. U Mya (*VTB* I, Pls. 32, 31 and pp. 34–35) attributes another tablet to Queen Ci Pe, namely our Pl. 25 a, b: but what he reads *cipe*, we read *sīl*.

Plates 22 to 49. SINGLE EARTH-TOUCHING BUDDHA TABLETS.

Plates 22 to 29. OVAL TABLETS WITHOUT ŚIKHARA.

Plate 22. *Seals of Aniruddha type. Nawur. Vrahmasin.*

Text, p. 100.

(a) Rimless tablet, a pointed oval, marked I 197, from Shwéhsandaw pagoda. Identical with Aniruddha's tablets from the same site (Pl. 6 c), and bearing the same Nāgarī inscription by Aniruddha himself at the base. – Obverse.

Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

(b) Similar rimless oval tablet without markings. Now at Mandalay Arch. Office. – Reverse, with 3 lines of Old Mon: –

!wo' trā |p nawur ma | lāt

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"I, Lord *Nawur*, stamped (this image of the Buddha)." – Nawur may have been a courtier or minister of Aniruddha, very likely a Mon.

(c) Reverse of a similar tablet marked "46 A, 46 B" (the number in Burmese). It has 2 lines of Old Mon: –
‖ gyāk vra|hmasin ‖
"The Buddha of *Vrahmasin* (Brahmasena)."

(d) Lower part of another seal of Aniruddha, Obverse, with the same Nāgarī signature as on Pl. 6 c. It is marked I 47, and comes from "a small four-faced temple S.W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda."

(e) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 56 and p. 46.
Ref. ASI 1930–34, Part I, p. 188; Part II, Pl. CVI b.
Height 5¾ in. Breadth 4½ in.

Rimmed and pointed oval ('fig-leaf') tablet, marked I 121, from Kyazin temple S. of Myinkaba (1931–32). Found in the relic-chamber together with 5-figure tablets (Pl. 8 b) bearing the signature of Aniruddha. Here, instead of the usual 2 stupas, large and medium, on each side of the Buddha, there are 4 – one small one being added below each of the other two. "Small stupas of an archaic type may be noticed," says U Mya, "and below the lotus seat is the Buddhist formula *ye dhammā hetuprabhavā* etc., in Nāgarī character of the 11th–12th cent. A.D. From the style of the principal figure and the stupas flanking it, and also from the type of letters in the Nāgarī legend, it may be assigned to Anoratha's period. i.e. 1044–1077 A.D."

(f) Detail of the 3 lines of Nāgarī inscription in high relief under (e). Mon Bo Kay reads: –
...mā hetu prabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ tathāgato hyavadat = teṣā(ṁ) ca yo| nirodho evaṁ-vādī mahā(sa)maṇa(h)

Plate 23. *Seals of Aniruddha type. Terracotta mould. Prince Yas.*
Text, pp. 17, 98, 99, 100.

(a) Oval terracotta mould for making single ETB tablets, with 2 stupas, large and medium, on each side of the pellet-pillars. Beaded border. Mould broken below the Buddha's lotus seat. Marked '51' in Burmese.

(b) Cf. *Neg.* 2728 (1926–27). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 20, 21 and p. 21.
Ref. ASI 1927, p. 163. *L.A.P.N.B.* p. 29 (No. 2728).
Height 4¾ in. Breadth 3¾ in. Thickness 1¼ in.

Pointed oval tablet with stepped rim, found in relic-chamber of Shwéhsandaw pagoda, where Aniruddha's seal, Pl. 6 c, was found. The Obverse is similar to it, and to mould (a) above. Beaded border. Pellet-pillars, 2 stupas on each side. Perhaps 3 faint lines of Nāgarī at the base. – Obverse.

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(c) The Reverse, marked "Cha -13, I 11", with 2 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ kyāk trāp maṅ|yas ma lāt ‖

"(This) Buddha was stamped by Lord Prince *Yas*."

Note the Burmese word *maṅ* 'Prince', and the Pali word *yasa* 'Fame', in this Mon sentence.

(d, e) 'Fig-leaf' oval tablet with stepped rim and beaded border. Marked '43' in Burmese. Provenance unknown. Shows ETB seated on double lotus, between pellet-pillars and abacus hung with beading, below beaded trefoil arch and umbrella. He has a beaded shoulder-nimbus. Peepal leaves at sides of arch, and 1 stupa on each side below. The 2 lines of Mon writing below the lotus are clearer seen on the broken tablet (e): –

‖ trāp maṅ yas | ma lāt ‖

"Stamped by Lord Prince *Yas*."

"Prince Yassa the *saṁbeṅ*, the king's favourite", or *Śrī Vallabh* = *Yasa*, occur again on Pl. 38 a, b (*infra*). The *sambeṅ Yasa* probably recurs also at Pl. 64 b, d. See also Pl. 71 (a).

Plate 24. *Seals of Aniruddha type. With Nāgarī 'Creed'.*

(a) *Ref.* Mon Bo Kay's Burmese article "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā", in *Yin-kyé-hmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part 9 (Feb. 1961), p. 116.

Height 5⅝ in. Breadth 4¼ in.

Rimmed oval 'fig-leaf' tablet with beaded border. No markings. Identical, so far as it goes, with one of the tablets of Queen Ci Pe (Pl. 21 a, from Tawya-gyaung), but there the lower half is lost. Similar also to Aniruddha's Shwéhsandaw seal (Pl. 6 c), but that has 2 quarter-lines and 2 full lines of Nāgarī at the base, including Aniruddha's name, while this has 2 quarter-lines and 3 full lines, including only the Buddhist 'Creed' – *ye dhammā hetuprabhavā* etc.

(b) Detail of the Nāgarī inscription in (a). The 2 broken lines at the sides of the throne are barely visible.

(c) Height 3¼ in. Breadth 2½ in.

Small rimless oval tablet, similar to (a), including the 3 full lines of Nāgarī at the base, but with different arrangement of streamers and peepal leaves at the top, and a small stupa above each abacus.

A rimmed variety, marked I 48 (30–31), found at "a small four-faced shrine S.W. of Sômingyi pagoda", measures about 4 in. high by 3⅛ in. broad.

(d) Lower part of a similar rimless oval tablet, marked I 34, found near Tawya-gyaung, S. of Myin-pagán. This, too, has 3 full lines of Nāgarī at the base, as well as 2 quarter-lines above. It is clearly illustrated on p. 116 of Mon Bo Kay's article, which shows that, apart from the Nāgarī inscription, the details of the rest of the tablet agree exactly with Aniruddha's Shwéhsandaw seal (Pl. 6 c).

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Plate 25. *Seals of Aniruddha type. With Mon and Pali writings.* Text, p. 100.

(a) Height 4¼ in. Breadth 3 in.

Rimless oval tablet, with markings. Arrangement of streamers and peepal leaves similar to Pl. 24 c. Thick round columns support the arch. Besides the usual 2 stupas, large and medium on each side, there is 1 small stupa above each abacus, and 2 small ones in tiers below the large one. 3 lines of faint Nāgarī 'Credo' below the lotus-seat.

(b) The Reverse of (a), with 8 lines of Old Mon incised: –

ki(n) |lic sī |l or ey |lep klic sī |l or ey | le(p k)ucit | (s)il or ey |lep

"The precept (against) Adultery (?) – may I be fully aware of it!
The precept (against) Stealing – may I be fully aware of it!
The precept (against) Killing – may I be fully aware of it!"

(c) A rimless tablet of same type, broken above the neck of the image. – Obverse.

(d) The Reverse of (c), marked "11" in Burmese. It shows the last 3 lines of an Old Mon inscription: –

..... |c pi wel ey | mik das kye |h

"....three....indeed. I desire to become a Buddha."

Two curious spellings, *mik* is a modernistic variety for the usual Old Mon *mic* = to desire. *Kyeh* must be a mistake for *kyek*.

(e) Lower half (breadth 3½ in.) of a rimless oval tablet, marked "I 124 (1931–32). From Maung Bala's palmyra plantation E. of Shin Ôttama's pagoda, Myinkaba." Shows the tall torso and arms of ETB (everything above the neck lost). He sits on double lotus ledge, between pellet-pillars and lines of hanging beads. A large stupa on each side, with 1 small stupa on the outer side of it, and 2 in a row below. 3 lines of faint Nāgarī at the base – Obverse.

(f) The Reverse of (e) with 1 line (incomplete ?) of Pali incised: –

metteyya samāga..... "the assembly of Maitreya".....

Plate 26. *Seals of Aniruddha type. With Mon reverses. Śrī Bisannarāc.*

Text, p. 101.

(a) Specimen Obverse. Similar to Pl. 24 a. Pointed oval tablet with stepped rim and beaded border. The ETB sits on double lotus ledge within trefoil arch resting on pellet-pillars. Umbrella and peepal sprays above. 2 stupas, large and small, on each side. 3 full lines of Nāgarī 'creed' in high relief below the lotus seat, and 2 upper lines divided by it.

Tablets of this series were mostly found at Sha-htôk pagoda, W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda, S. of Myinpagán. They are generally marked I 167; but also I 127, 128, 129, 130, 131. Owing to loss of old registers during the War, it is still difficult to identify these sites.

Ref. I.B., Pl. V 606, shows about 20 specimen plaques of this series.

Height 5 in. Breadth 3⅞ in. Thickness ¾ in.

(b) Reverse, with 3 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyā |k trāp srī bi |sanarāc |

"This is the Buddha of the lord *Srī Bisanarāc*".

Neg. 3582 (1932–33).

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(c) Reverse, with 3 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyāk trā |p śrī binnarāc | ma lāt

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Śrī Binnarāc.*"

(d) Reverse, with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' kyāk | trāp sri bisannarā |c ma lāt na tey |kuṁm ।

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Sri Bisannarāc* with his own hands."

Neg. 3584 (1932–33). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 23 and p. 22.

(e) Reverse with 3 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' kyāk trā |p srih bisannarāc ma |lāt kim ‖

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Srih Bisannarāc* himself."

(f) Reverse, with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyāk trā |p sriy bisaṁnarāc |ma lāt na tey kuṁm | namo buddhāy ‖

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Sriy Bisaṁnarāc* himself. Honour to the Buddha!"

Ref. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 26 and p. 22.

Plate 27. *Mon reverses cont. Śrī Bisannarāc. Yāsohdarāh. Candumāh.*

(a) Reverse with 3 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyāk trāp srīh | bi'sannarāc ma' |lāt 20 mi' 1 ṫney

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Srīh Bi'sannarāc* – 20 copies a day."

Neg. 3585 (1932–33). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 25 and p. 22.

(b) Reverse with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' kyāk trāp |srī bisannarāc ma lāt na | tey kum rup 50 mi 1 |ṫney ‖ o ‖

"This is the Buddha stamped by the lord *Srī Bisannarāc* with his own hand – 50 images a day."

Neg. 3574 (1932–33). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 24 and p. 22.

(c) Reverse with 5 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' wipā |k sambeṅ srī bi |sannarāc lāt kye |k wo' or da |s kyek ‖

"As the result of the *sambeṅ Srī Bisannarāc* stamping this Buddha, may he become a Buddha!"

Neg. 3590 (1932–33). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 18, 19 and pp. 20–21.

For a similar plaque, cf. *ASB* 1948–52, Pl. II and p. 7. There is another with similar inscription in Rangoon University Library.

(d) Reverse with 5 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' wipāk | sumbeṅ srī bisannarā |c lāt kyek jin p(i) |n sarbba'sattā ku' de |watā guluṅ

"As the result of the *sumbeṅ Srī Bisannarāc* stamping (this) Buddha, he offers the merit to all living beings, including the Devatās."

Neg. 3569 (1932–33).

(e) Reverse with 5 lines of Old Mon: –

wipāk ma(n) yāso |hdarāh lāt | kyek wo' or |go' das kye k ‖

"As the result of *Yāsohdarāh* stamping this Buddha, may she be enabled to become a Buddha!"

Neg. 3577 (1932–33). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 27 and p. 23.

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(f) Reverse with 2 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyāk |trila candumāh

"This is the Buddha of the Rev. Candumāh."

Neg. 3580 (1932–33). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 22 and p. 21.

Plate 28. *Mon reverses cont. Su'dhaṁmāh. Bisannarāc. Ingan tablets.*

(a) Reverse with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' kyek su' |dhammāh ma' lāt | ey jin pīn ku' mbo' ey

"This Buddha was stamped by *Su'dhaṁmāh.* I offer the merit to my mother."

Neg. 3587 (1932–33).

(b) Reverse with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ o ‖ wo' kye su' |dhammāh ma' lāt jin | pin ku ambo amba' | ey ‖

"This Buddha was stamped by *Su'dhammāh.* I offer the merit to my mother and father."

U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 28 and p. 23.

(c) Another tablet of this series, in 3 fragments, the 4th fragment lost from the right side. Found at Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda, Rangoon. – Obverse, as at Pl. 26 a.

Height 5 in. Breadth 4 in. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(d) Reverse of (c), with 4 lines of Old Mon: –

‖ wo' wipāk |su(ṁ)beṅ bisannarāc |. . . kyāk wo |. . . . go' das kyā(k).

"As the result of the *suṁbeṅ Bisannarāc* (stamping) this Buddha, may he be enabled to become a Buddha."

(e) Text, p. 102.

Height $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. Estimated breadth when complete: about 3 in. Thickness (with rim): 1 in.

2 Obverses of fragmentary tablets recovered from Ingan village, 10 miles S.E. of Kyauk-padaung, Magwé district. The one on the left is a rimmed tablet squared below, arching to a high point above. It shows ETB with shoulder-nimbus, seated under trefoil abacus-arch crowned with stupa-finial. Sprays of peepal leaves above. 3 stupas in tiers on either side. Beaded border. Perhaps 2 lines of faint writing (Mon script) in high relief below the double lotus.

The fragment on the right shows a headless ETB with tall torso and arms, seated on double lotus-ledge between pellet-pillars. Perhaps 3 lines of Nāgarī writing in high relief at the base.

(f) Reverse of the fragment on the right in (e), with 2+ lines of Old Mon: –

. . . suṁmbeṅ a. . . . |. . . . . (ñ) ma(') lā(t) . . .

"Stamped by the *suṁmbeṅ* A. . . . . (ñ)." – The name might possibly be *Asakrheñ.* See Pl. 29.

Plate 29. *Seals of Aniruddha type. Asak-rheñ.*

Text, p. 101.

(a) Pointed oval ('fig leaf') tablet with thin rims, broken in two across the neck of the image, most of the right side lost. No markings. The ETB has strong square head, long arms and torso. He sits between pellet-pillars under beaded trefoil arch with umbrella-finial. Beaded border. Sprays of

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peepal at the top. Below, on either side, 3 stupas, large, medium and small. The small one is above the abacus, between the two others. Under the large stupa there may have been a lotus 'tree', now lost. 3 lines of Nāgarī in high relief at the base.
Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. – Obverse.

(b) Detail of the 3 incomplete Nāgarī lines of Buddhist 'Creed' below the lotus seat in (a).

(c) Reverse of (a) with 5 lines of Old Mon incised, the last 4 incomplete: –

kyāk ma i-|. . . . . (phu)moh |. . . (mbe)ṅ asak rhe-|. . . . mic nibān |. . . . lāt ||

"(This) Buddha which. . . . . ,was stamped by the *sumbeṅ* (?) *Asak-rhe(ñ)*, (who) desires Nirvāṇa."

(d) Central segment cut out from a tablet similar to the above, showing only the double lotus, the ETB seated on it, and the beaded trefoil arch and pellet-pillars enclosing him. No markings. – Obverse.

(e) The Reverse of (d), with 5 truncated lines of Old Mon incised (compare (c) *supra*)

. . .' kyā . . . . . .moh ma. . . |. . (go)h sumbe. . . . . .rheñ ma mi. . . |. . .ma' lāt. . .

Note that though this is a Mon inscription, the donor has a Burmese name or title, *Asak rheñ*, 'Long Life'.

Plates 30 to 33. OVAL TABLETS WITH ŚIKHARA.

Plate 30. *Tablets with many stupas. Bodhgayā. Pagán.*
Text, pp. 102, 131.

(a) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 140/59. Locality: Bodhgayā. Terracotta plaques B.G. 145, B.G. 153".
Height $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. Breadth at centre $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Both tablets (probably from the same mould) are rimmed and pointed oval ('fig leaf') in shape, with beaded borders. In the centre of each is ETB seated on double lotus, between turned colonnettes supporting a trefoil arch with elaborate bead-edged and 'tongued' śikhara, crowned with stupa-finial. 2 peepal-sprays branch out behind. Apart from 2 damaged lines of Nāgarī in high relief at the base, all the rest of the plaque is filled with rows of tall archaic stupas: 11 rows of them, counting from the bottom 12, 16, 8, 10, 12, 11, 11, 11, 9, 4, and 4: total 108, corresponding doubtless to the 108 auspicious signs shewn on the Buddha-footprint.

(b) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 141/59. Locality: Bodhgayā. Inscriptions on the plaques B.G. 145, B.G. 153."

On the left side rim of each there is 1 line of Old Man, the same on each, sufficient to prove that the tablets either came from Burma, or were left at Bodhgayā by a Burma monk on pilgrimage there *c.* 1100 A.D. Both read: –

wo' kyāk mhādew

"This is the Buddha of *Mahādeva*."

Prints supplied by the Government of India, Department of Archaeology.

(c, d) 2 rimmed tablets, pointed oval ('fig leaf') within, set in a squared frame up to the shoulders, and roughly pointed at the top. Beaded border all around the oval, enclosing an ETB with large head

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and short body (*not* the Aniruddha type). He sits on a beaded and recessed pedestal between turned columns, supporting trefoil abacus-arch, elaborate bead-edged and 'tongued' śikhara, with stupa-finial, peepal sprays and streamers. 3 lines of Nāgarī 'Creed' in high relief below the pedestal-ledge. The rest of the plaque is filled with 6 rows of small elongated stupas, counting from the bottom 4, 10, 8, 10, 10, 10 (? 12), total 52 (? 54). If the latter number is right, the two plaques combined would yield 108 – corresponding to the 108 Auspicious Signs. But Col. Ba Shin counts only 52.

Both tablets, now at Mandalay Arch. Office, are marked I 145. They were found in Po Saw's field S.E. of Nagayôn.

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 111 and p. 73.

Height 3⅓ in. Breadth at base 2¼ in. Breadth at shoulders 2⅓ in.

Plate 31. *Chitsagôn large oval. Reverse with archaic Burmese.*

Text, pp. 76, 102.

Neg. 2680 (1925–26). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 54 and p. 46.

Ref. ASB 1926, pp. 24–25. *ASI* 1926, pp. 117–8.

(a) Pointed oval rimmed tablet "found in a field belonging to Maung Chit Sa of Taungbi village." 'Chitsagôn' ("Chit Sa's mound") is not near Taungbi, but S. of Pagán-hmyaw temple, E. of Nanda. The tablet, within its beaded border, shows ETB seated on double lotus, between turned and beaded pillars supporting a bead-edged and 'tongued' śikhara with stupa-finial and streamers. Sprays of peepal are visible behind. 6 stupas on either side: 2 small stupas between the usual large and medium ones, and 1 small stupa outside the large one, and 1 below it. 3 lines of tiny Nāgarī in high relief below the lotus throne. – Obverse.

Height about 6½ in. Breadth about 4½ in. Once perfect, when photographed on discovery in 1925–26, the tablet has now lost its right side. It is at Mandalay Arch. Office, marked I 180, "Pagán, from Chitsagôn 1925–26."

(b) Detail of 3-line Nāgarī writing at base (right side slightly damaged). The right side is now incomplete.

Ref. Mon Bo Kay, *Yin-kyé-kmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part 9 (Feb. 1961), p. 118 (bottom left corner).

(c) Reverse of the tablet, as discovered in 1925–26, with 8 lines of Archaic Burmese – one of the oldest specimens of written Burmese extant.

Neg. 2679 (1925–26). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 55.

‖ o ‖ ṅā lū so chu' te.. |..siy (phla)ṅ kā ‖ lū te phle|t lū teckā e pucaw rā|ṇat te phlet kā ṇat (..)| (e) pucaw rā ‖ saṅsarā|aphlet (phlet a)syak|yut mā su(i') ma|phlet (ph)lat (so)..

"The boon I desire is this. When I die, if born as a man, (may I be) the object of worship by all men. If born as a spirit, (may I be) the object of worship by spirits. So often as I am born in Samsara, may I never be born to a mean existence (?)."

(d) Obverse as it now is, with right side lost.

(e) The Reverse (enlarged), as photographed in 1960 at Mandalay, with the left side lost.

Plate 32. *Tablets from Chitsagôn, Shwéhsandaw, etc.*

(a) 3 other complete rimmed oval tablets – 2 of them marked "*cha* (1925) from Maung Chit Sa Gôn, E. of the Ananda" – are now at Mandalay Arch. Office: height 6⅜ in., breadth 4⅜ in. The third,

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marked "*Ja* I 10", is shown as (a) on this plate. Though its rims are thicker, it appears to come from the same mould as (a) of the preceding plate.

(b) Lower half of similar rimless tablet, with 3 lines of Nāgarī 'creed'.

(c) A rimless pointed-oval tablet, damaged at the bottom, marked I 333, from Pagán. The Nāgarī inscription, if any, is lost. Roughly resembles Pl. 31 a; but here the śikhara-arch rests on pellet-pillars; the branching of the peepal sprays is not the same; and the 6 stupas on either side are somewhat differently placed. Height about 6⅔ in. Breadth 4⅓ in.
Cf. U Mya, *VTB* II, Pls. 89, 90 and pp. 37–38, "from Hmawza" (i.e. Śrī Kṣetra); but here there are only 5 stupas: 1 large, 1 medium above, and 2 small ones between them, and 1 small one below the large one.

(d) A similar, but smaller, rimless oval tablet, marked "I 125, from Maung Bala's field E. of Shin Ôttama pagoda, Myinkaba village." Has peepal sprays and pellet-pillars as in (c) above; also 2 or 3 lines of Nāgarī in high relief at the base, badly worn.
Height 4¾ in. Breadth 3½ in.

(e) Small 'fig-leaf' oval tablet, marked I 186, from Pagán Shwéhsandaw. Similar to the Chitsagôn oval tablet (Pl. 31 a), but smaller; and it has only 4 stupas at each side, omitting the 2 small stupas between the large and medium ones. The śikhara, too, has not the usual pointed 'tongue' up the centre, but is crossed with horizontal recessions. 3 faint lines of Nāgarī at the base.
Height 4¼ in. Breadth 3¼ in.

Plate 33. *Tablets from Pegu, Bodhgayā* (?), *and Taungdwingyi.*

(a) Large rimless 'fig leaf' tablet (No. 100) in W. *gandhakuṭī* museum on platform of Shwémawdaw pagoda, Pegu. ETB sits between turned pillars, with a peepal leaf visible above abacus on each side. The śikhara is 'tongued' and has an āmalaka/stupa-finial. The peepal tree branches upwards. 2 small stupas in a row below each of the large side-stupas; and 2 more in tiers on the outer side of them. 3 lines of Nagari 'creed' in high relief below the damaged double lotus.
Phot. San Win.
Height 5½ in. Max. breadth 4 in.

(b) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 156/59. Locality: Burma. Terracotta votive plaques RN 3, RN 2" (Query PN 3, PN 2, from Pagán ?).

Both tablets are oval or fig leaf in shape, one rimmed, one rimless. Both are badly worn. They appear to be the same in design as (a) above, with 2 small stupas below, another 2 outside, the large stupa on either side, and 3 lines of Nāgarī below the lotus.

Compare R. C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, 1893, Pl. XV, fig. 2, "Votive Tablet from Buddha Gayā found in Pegu", and p. 360; Taw Sein Ko, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 385. The tablet is said to be now in the British Museum. "In the Phayre Museum [Rangoon] there are 3 more such tablets: one from Pegu and two from Pagán. . . . In Forchhammer's *Report on the Kyaukku*

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Temple at Pagán, similar tablets are shown on Pls. VII and VIII, Nos. 15, 16 and 17, but not described."

(c) Rimmed oval tablet with thick squared base and high pointed top. Marked XII, which shows that it was found at Taungdwingyi. Beaded border all around. ETB sits between strong turned pillars supporting a trefoil arch, behind which one can just see 3 horizontal roofs receding to a broad, bead-edged and 'tongued' śikhara with āmalaka finial. Peepal sprays branch upwards on either side. 6 stupas on either side: the usual large and medium, with 1 minute stupa below each, and 1 minute one on the outer side of each: total 12.
Height 6½ in. Breadth at base 4¼ in. Thickness of rim 1½ in.

(d) Detail of Nāgarī inscription with Buddhist 'creed' at the base of (c). The 3 lines are divided up the centre by a stalk, which opens to form the large double lotus on which the Buddha sits.

Plates 34, 35. TABLETS WITH SQUARED BASE AND NO SIKHARA.

Plate 34. *Srī Baña* (*Pyu inscription*).
Text, pp. 99–100.

(a) Tablet marked "I 153, from a mound E. of the Mingalazedi, N. of Myinkaba." Oblong rimmed tablet with top corners of rim chamfered and arching to a point. Beading on both sides up to the peak, but not at the base.

ETB sits on double lotus, between turned pillars supporting a voluted abacus and beaded trefoil arch, crowned with umbrella-finial and streamers. Below these, sprays with peepal leaves at the sides. Below these, on either side are 4 medium-sized stupas in tiers, with 1 small stupa on the inner side of the topmost one. 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' in high relief at the base.
Height 5⅓ in. Breadth 3¾ in.

(b) Similar oblong tablet with rims chamfered at the top, the rim damaged at bottom left corner. Marked I 229 and (in Burmese) 54. From Pagán.

(c) *Neg.* 2732 (1926–27). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 29, 30, and pp. 23–24.
Ref. ASI 1927, p. 164 and Pl. XXXIX b, e (Obv. and Rev.). Mon Bo Kay, *Yin-kyé-hmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part 9 (Feb. 1961), p. 120 (bottom) – for copy of the Nāgarī inscription.

A similar tablet, but with rims thick and squared at the base, and arching and thinning to a point at the top. No chamfer. Marked 365. Within the rims, identical with (a) and (b), but not so well preserved. The 2 Nāgarī lines are said by Duroiselle to be the Buddhist 'creed' in mixed Pali and Sanskrit. – Found in relic-chamber of Shwéhsandaw pagoda.

(d) The Reverse of (c), with 6 clear lines of Pyu incised in Pyu script. It begins:

‖ o ‖ yå ḅå: bhagava

"This (image of) the Blessed One."
The donor (?) *Srī Baña* (or *Bañano*), is mentioned in line 3. He prays, it seems, that he may reach omniscience (?) in the presence of *Metriya,* when the latter becomes a Buddha.
Neg. 2733 (1926–27).

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(e, f) This precious tablet, now at Mandalay Arch. Office, is now in a shattered state. (e), the Obverse, and (b), the Reverse, are all that remained of it in 1960.

Plate 35. *Hsameikshé*, etc. *Pin, the Judge.*

Text, p. 102.

(a) Marked in Burmese 81/56. Deep-rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Rather like the tablets of the previous plate, but badly worn. Branching of the peepal boughs is different. Umbrella above the arch. There are only 4 stupas in tiers on either side. No Nāgarī inscription under the lotus throne.

(b) Marked in Burmese 37 (30–31). Small narrow rimless tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Beading at the sides up to the peak. Similar to the deeply rimmed tablet of Queen Ci'peh (Pl. 21 c). Shows the Buddha with abacus-halo seated on high indented and ribbed throne. No arch or śikhara. One tall stupa on either side of the throne. Peepal leaves above.
Height 2⅜ in. Breadth at base 1¼ in.

(c) Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Found in a field at Nyaungbingan village, ¾ mile W. of Hsameikshé, near Thazi, Meiktila district. Shows a large-headed Buddha seated on double lotus between turned pillars, under beaded trefoil arch crowned with umbrella and thick peepal sprays. Beaded border. 4 small stupas in tiers on either side. 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' in high relief below the lotus throne. – Obverse.
Height 5 in. Breadth at base 3¼ in. Thickness 1½ in.
Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 73 and p. 53.

(d) Detail of the 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' at base of (c). *Ye dhammā* etc.

(e) The Reverse of (c), with 4 lines of Old Mon inscription incised: –

kyak rtyāḥ su |mbeṅ pin na āni |s kyak wo' mi |c das kyak ‖

"This is the Buddha of *Pin*, the Law-*sumbeṅ*. As the good result of (making) this Buddha, I desire to become a Buddha!" – Note the spelling *kyak* instead of the usual *kyāk* or *kyek*. Note also the spelling *rtyāḥ* (from Sanskrit *ṛta*) – on its way into Old Burmese *tryā*, 'the moral Law'.
Cf. *Neg.* 2273 (1921–22).
Ref. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1922, p. 11. *ASI* 1922, p. 91.

(f) One of several tablets marked "XVI 3, 4 specimens from Hsameikshé, near Thazi, Meiktila district". Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Beading at the sides up to the peak. Not the same as (c) *supra*. This has a stupa, not an umbrella, as finial above the trefoil arch. The supporting pillars are thinner and have a pointed abacus at the top. The peepal leaves are few and large. There are only 3 stupas in tiers on either side. No inscription at the base.
Height 5 in. Breadth at base 3¼ in.

(g) The only old writings on the (f) tablets are the letters *khu*, *gaṁ* and *ña* (mason's marks ?) on the underrim of 3 of them. The one illustrated has the letter *ña*.

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Plates 36 to 48. TABLETS WITH SQUARED BASE AND ŚIKHARA.

Plate 36. *Pali/Mon on Obverse. Mon Reverse at Bodhgayā. Nāgarī.*

(a) Rimmed tablet, marked in Burmese "36", squared at base and arching to a point above. Rim lost at bottom right corner. Beaded border on both sides up to the peak. Resembles other tablets marked I 185 from Shwéhsandaw, and I 252 from Myinpyagu.

The Buddha has double 'flame' uṣṇīṣa and bead-halo. The triple beaded śikhara-arch has a stupa-finial. On either side peepal sprays and leaves fill the upper half of the plaque. Below these, on either side of the turned and beaded pillars, there are 2 stupas, large and medium, in tiers, both with streamers. Floral fountain below the large stupas. Below the double lotus there are 2 lines of Pali in Mon script, in high relief.

Height 5⅝ in. Breadth at base 3⅝ in. Thickness 1¼ in.

(b) Detail of the lower part of (a), including the 2 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

eso bhagavā vimuttatthāya (mayā kato ||).....

"This Blessed One was made by me with the object of Deliverance....." U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 97 and pp. 64–65.

(c) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 138/59. Locality: Bodhgayā. Terracotta plaque B.G. 141." Height 6¾ in. Breadth at base 4¼ in. Thickness 1½ in. Text, p. 102.

Rimmed tablet squared below, arching above. Beaded border at sides up to peak. The Buddha sits on a low recessed and indented throne, between turned pillars supporting a trefoil arch with *haṁsas* (?) perched on the abacus. Behind the arch rises an elaborate triple-tiered and 'tongued' śikhara, with beaded corners. Stupa-finial with streamers. 2 sprays of peepal near the top. 5 stupas on either side, large, medium, small and 2 minute – these last being under the base of the large one. 2 lines of tiny Nāgarī characters in high relief below the throne.

(d) "Neg. No. 139/59. Locality: Bodhgayā. Inscription on the back of terracotta plaque B.G. 141." – 3 lines of Old Mon: –

wo' kyā trā..|...srī....srī|nibān

"This is the Buddha" [*kyā* for *kyāk*] "of Lord [? trāp]..sri.....Nirvāṇa."

(e) Height 4¾ in. Breadth at base 3½ in.

Marked I 358, from Pagán. Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. The Buddha sits on double lotus, with indented and chevron-beaded throne below, between turned and beaded columns, under trefoil arch with 'tongued' śikhara and stupa-finial. Beaded border at sides up to peak. Lotus 'trees', rising from the throne, support 2 medium stupas on either side. 2 lines of Nāgarī in high relief below the throne, clear except where deleted on the left side.

(f) Lower fragment of a similar rimless tablet marked *ja* in Burmese, and I..., that is, from Pagán. Shows the 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' clearly, and details of the throne and lotus trees. For copy of the Nāgarī inscription, see Mon Bo Kay, *Yin-kyé-hmu* magazine, Vol. III, Part 9 (Feb. 1961), top of p. 120.

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Plate 37. *Heavily ornate type. Pegu Abhirūpa etc.*

Text, p. 99.

(a) *Neg.* 7678 (1957–58).

Height $6\frac{3}{5}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Thickness $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. Phot. San Win.

Rimmed tablet in W. *gandhakuṭī* museum on platform of Pegu, Shwémawdaw pagoda (No. 101). ETB sits on 'leather' mat, double lotus and low recessed and indented throne, guarded by lions at the corners. Massive pillars support a heavily ornate śikhara-arch above him. On either side near the top, a small stupa leans in towards the śikhara.

(b) The Reverse of (a), with 5 lines of Pali incised in bold Old Mon script: –

‖ idaṁ buddharūpaṁ a|bhirūpena nāma bhi|kkhunā saṅsāramucca|natthāya sahatthe|na kāritanti ‖

"This image of the Buddha is being made by the monk named *Abhirūpa* with his own hand, for the sake of release from Samsāra".

(c) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 156/59. Locality: Burma. Terracotta votive plaques 10320, 10318."

The plaque on the left is a deep-rimmed tablet with squared base, showing ETB seated within a heavily ornate śikhara – archway, similar to that in (a). Lions stand on guard at the lower corners. The plaque on the right is an oval tablet without śikhara, showing ETB seated on double lotus below beaded trefoil arch resting on pellet pillars. Umbrella and peepal sprays above. 2 stupas, large and small, on either side. Beaded border. Rims lost. Probably several lines of Nāgarī writing at the base.

(d) Top part of a rimmed tablet found in 1928–29 S.W. of Htilominlo temple, and marked I 234 on the reverse. The Obverse shows a heavily ornate śikhara-arch, similar to that in (a).

The Reverse shows 2 incomplete lines of Pali inscription in Mon script: –

‖ o ‖ assattha....i... |(vā)sanāma.....

Plate 38. *Heavily ornate type cont. Pwazaw (Śrī Vallabh = Yasa). Pagán (Saṅgradīva), etc.*

Text, pp. 98, 99.

(a, b) *Neg.* 4732 to 4735 (1948–49). Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 14 (a, b) and pp. 17–19.

Ref. ASB 1948–52, 1st plate, fig. on left, and p. 6. *ASB* 1959, Pl. 32.

Height 7 in. Breadth at base $4\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Two-plane tablet found at Pwazaw, S. of Pagán. It shows ETB, as in Pl. 37 a and c, seated under a heavily ornate śikhara-arch. Lions with tails rampant stand on guard at the bottom corners of the throne, with (possibly) an elephant-head supporting the centre. Below the throne, on the sunken plane within the beaded border that runs all around it, are 2 lines of fine square Nāgarī writing in high relief. Outside the beading, on the middle plane, runs a long line of Pali inscription in Mon script, also in high relief, originally stamped in verso, so that the base reads from right to left, then up the left side, and ends in the middle of the right side. – Two aspects are shown.

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The 2 lines of Sanskrit/Nāgarī, as read by Mon Bo Kay, are: –

ye dhamā hetu prabhavā hetu(ṁ) teṣā(ṁ) tathāgato hyavadat = teṣāṁ ca | yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśramaṇa(ḥ) dānapati śrī vallabh = yasa nāma ‖

".....The name of the donor is Śrī Vallabh = Yasa."

The line of Pali | Mon reads: –

‖ imaṁ buddhabimbaṁ saṁbeṅ = maṅ = yassa nāma | rājavallabhena dānapatinā sabbañutañānavaraṁ (paṭhantena) | kataṁ sadevako loko jānātū ti ‖

"This image of the Buddha has been made by the donor, the king's favourite, the *saṁbeṅ* named Prince *Yassa*, in his longing for excellent Omniscience. May the world, together with the gods, take note!"

For Prince *Yas*, compare Pl. 23 c, d, e. The *sambeṅ Yasa* probably recurs also at Pl. 64 b, d.

(c) A reprint from the verso of the negative (Arch. Dept. *Neg.* 4735 of 1948–49). This is easier reading; but it makes it appear that the Buddha is touching Earth with his *left* hand. This is not the case: see (a, b).

(d) A similar heavily ornate tablet, but smaller, and without the Pali writing on the obverse, or the beaded border. Found in U Pyant's field S.E. of Nagayôn temple, E. of the Seinnyet.

Neg. 4017, 4018, 4019 (1937–38).

Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Thickness 1 in.

Ref. ASB 1938, p. 8. This type of tablet was already found by U Mya in 1931–32 in a temple "a few hundred yards S.E. of the Nagayôn": see *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CVII (c), and Part I, p. 190: – "Below the throne is a much-defaced Nāgarī legend in two lines. On the reverse face of some of them, there are hand-written inscriptions in Pali.... The text is in two varieties, but the letters are of the same type...(Pl. CVII d, e)."

(e, f) The 2 varieties of Reverse mentioned above – 5 and 3 lines of Pali in Mon script – (e) reads as follows: –

‖ saṅgradīvā | cariyena ka | to patimā | uttamo ji | no ‖

"(This) image of the highest Conqueror is made by the Teacher, *Saṅgradīva.*" For a variant spelling of the name, *Saṅgradeva*, see *ASB* 1938, Pl. II (c, d) and p. 8. (f), 3 lines of Pali in Mon script, reads:–

‖ sabbañūtañā | ṇassa paccayo | hotū ti ‖

"May it serve to help towards Omniscience!"

Neg. 4018 (1937–38). Cf. U Mya, *VIB* I, Pl. 15 (a, b) and pp. 16, 17 and 19–20.

"From the N. mound, N. of Tawyagyaung, S. of Myinkaba."

Cf. *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, figs. 1 and 7, and p. 132 (from Kannibauk pagoda, Kyinlo village, 8 miles S.E. of Nyaung-u); 4 in. × $3\frac{3}{5}$ in.

Note. There are two varieties, large and small, of this 'heavily ornate' type of tablet. The larger variety (about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 7 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) includes the one from Pegu (Pl. 37 a); also perhaps the one at Calcutta (Pl. 37 c), of which I have not the measurements, but which seems similar to the Pegu tablet; also probably the I 234 fragment from Pagán, S.W. of Htilominlo (Pl. 37 d). Also the Pwazaw specimen (Pl. 38 a) and a similar Pagán tablet marked I 4. These Pagán tablets differ

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from the Pegu/Calcutta tablets by having high-relief inscriptions, both in Nāgarī and Mon scripts, on their obverse.

The smaller variety (about 5 in. × 3½ in. to 4 in.) includes the specimen from U Pyant's field near the Seinnyet (Pl. 38 d); others, marked I 56 and I 69, found in 1929–30 in mounds N. of Tawyagaung; also one marked "*Kho* 37–38"; and others marked "I 140 (1931–32) from Maung To's field S.E. of the Nagayôn"; also one from "brick mound No. 1 E. of the Nagayôn" (*Neg.* 3459 of 1931–32). These resemble the larger Pegu type in having no inscription on the obverse, but sometimes have Pali inscriptions on the reverse.

Plate 39. *Tablets from ruin E. of Mingalazedi. Mon writings.*

(a) Found in 1926 "E. of the Mingalazedi." Tablet with thick coarse rims squared up to the shoulders; then arching to an apex. The carved plaque itself is not coarse, but exactly like the thin rimless type which we may call the 'Chitsagôn thin squared type' (*infra*, Pl. 41). Beaded borders at the sides up to the apex.

E.T.B., with ūrṇā, pointed uṣṇīṣa, robe and shoulder-flap indicated, sits on double lotus in a trefoil abacus-archway, beaded and laddered, resting on turned pillars, and supporting a beaded and foliated śikhara, with stupa-finial and streamers. Lotus 'trees' sprout at the bottom corners below 2 tiers of stupas, large and small, at either side. Above these, are sprays of peepal leaves and small stupas leaning towards the śikhara. Below the throne is a faint line of Mon script. Height 5½ in. Breadth at base 4 in.

(b, c) 2 similar tablets with thick coarse rims, marked "I 199 A, from ruined shrine E. of the Mingalazedi" – presumably the same site as that where (a) was found. These have writings in Old Mon on the face of their bottom rims.

(b), 2 lines, appears to read – see **(d)** for detail –

‖ o ‖ kyek wo' lāṅ yaṅ len |ma kindaṁ ey mi(c ār) nibbān

"This Buddha was made by *Lāṅ* [query Old Burm. = husband ?] *Yaṅ Len*. I want to go (?) to Nirvāṇa".

(c) 2 lines, appears to read – see (e) for detail –

‖ wo' kyāk pay rhma' o |(r) pay rhmak ku' ...n.....

"This is the Buddha of *Pay* [= 'Beloved'] *Rhma'*. May *Pay Rhmak* and....."

(f) Top half of a thick rimless tablet of the same type, without markings. – Obverse.

(g) Reverse of (f), with 3 fragmentary lines of Old Mon: –

‖ jin pun mā |tā pitā k(yā |k wo')...

"I offer the merit (for making) this Buddha (?) to my mother and father."

Plate 40. *Chitsagôn squared types. Raṭhapā. Ānanda.*

Text, p. 99.

(a) Thick rimless tablet found at Chitsagôn (mound in Maung Chit Sa's field), E. of the Nanda. Marked I 170, A 1, on the reverse. Obverse exactly like the rimmed type of the preceding plate. Height 4¼ in. Breadth at base 2¾ in. Thickness ¾ in.

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(b) The Reverse of (a), with 3 lines of Pali incised: –

‖ raṭhapā bhi |kkhu idaṁ buddha |rupaṁ ‖

"The monk *Raṭhapā* [*Raṭṭhapāla*] (made) this image of the Buddha."

(c) 2 Reverses of similar tablets. The one on the left reads: –

ānanḍa |carayena | māpitaṁ i ‖ daṁ buddha |rupaṁ ‖

The one on the right, marked I 245, found in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo, reads: –

ānanḍaca |rayena mā |pitaṁ idaṁ buddha |rupaṁ ‖

"This image of the Buddha was created by the Teacher (*ācariya*) *Ānanda*."

(d) 2 other Reverses of similar tablets, with much the same 4 lines of Pali incised. The tablet marked "50" in Burmese, with its lower part lost, reads: –

ānanḍaca |rayena mā |pitaṁ idaṁ bu |(ddhā)rupaṁ ‖

The other tablet, marked 154 (?) in Burmese, and broken across the middle, reads: –

ānanḍaca |rayena mā |pita(ṁ) idaṁ bu |ddharūpaṁ ‖

(e) Thin rimless tablet, squared at the base, arching to a point above, with Obverse exactly like the thick and rimmed varieties in this and the preceding plates. Found in 1926 at Chitsagôn, E. of the Nanda, S. of Pagan-hmyaw temple. – Obverse.
Height $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(f) Detail of lower part of one such tablet, showing the faint line of writing in Mon script at the base:–

kyā maṅ gok[a] so (ma lāṇ)

Reading doubtful. Meaning obscure.

Plates 41 to 48. CHITSAGÔN MAIN SERIES (THIN RIMLESS).
REVERSES WITH ARCHAIC BURMESE.

Plate 41.

Text, pp. 76, 102–104.

(a) 3 specimen Obverses of the main series of tablets from Chitsagôn, mound in Maung Chit Sa's field, E. of the Nanda, S. of Pagán-hmyaw temple. This is the thin rimless variety shewn on Pl. 40 e; but the beaded border at the sides, which is scarcely visible on that plate, is evident on this.
Height $4\frac{1}{16}$ in. Breadth at squared base $2\frac{13}{16}$ in. Thickness $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Neg. 2717 (1926–27). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 53 and pp. 40–41.

Note. For the first discovery, in 1925–26, of an oval tablet in this mound, with inscription in archaic Burmese, see Pl. 31 *supra*. For the later discovery, in 1926–27, of "a hoard of terracotta votive tablets nearly a thousand in number", see Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, pp. 167–8. These appear to have been all tablets with squared base, as shewn in this and the following plates. "What renders these tablets specially valuable" says Duroiselle, "is the wealth of archaic words in Burmese contained in the short dedicatory inscriptions written on the reverse face of a great many of them.... various fruits, flowers and herbs.... Other tablets contain inscriptions in Old Burmese consisting of six, seven, or eight short lines, and some of one line only..." Small and

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rather poor (wartime) illustrations of 39 of these are given at *I.B.*, Pls. V 604, 605 and part of 606 (see Index of Plates); and a good number are discussed at *JBRS* Vol. XXX, 1940, Part I, pp. 310 follg. Readings of these 'Chitsagôn Reverses' are given *seriatim* below.

Chitsagôn Reverses

(b) ūn wat – Coconut inflorescence. *Cocos nucifera.* Marking: – I 170.65/3. I 2. $\frac{65}{3}$
rhok pwāṅ – Lemon blossom. *Citrus medica.* Marking: – I 170.65/72.
Neg. B 649 (1957–58).

(c) mun ñaṅ – Black Mustard. *Brassica nigra.* Marking: – I 2. 65/65.
nham te – "This is Sesamum". *Sesamum indicum.* Marking: – I 2. 65/71.
Neg. B 650 (1957–58).

(d) kleñ phūruṁ – "Tamil Pumpkin". *Benincasa cerifera* (?). Marking: – I 170.5.
pāy lwam – Cow Pea. *Vigna Catjang.* Marking: – I 170. 65/56.
Neg. B 662 (1957–58).

(e) phalā – Cardamom. Sanskrit *bahula.* Marking: – I 2. 65/57.
(f) . .lā phlū – White Cardamom. Marking: – I 2. 65/58.
(g) phalā phlo – White Cardamom. Marking: – I 2. 65/59.
òṅ ma ñiw – *Clitorea ternatea.* It has blue (*ñiw*) flowers. Marking: – 65/7(8).
Neg. B 659 (1957–58).

(h) cimu nak – Black Cummin, Small Fennel. *Nigella sativa.* Marking: – I 2. 65/36.
(i) cimu kri – "Big *cimu*", Mod. Burm. *camun,* "a kind of plant of which there are many varieties" (Judson's Dictionary). Marking: – I 2. 65/34.
taleñ pwāk – Pomegranate. . .(? for *pwāṅ,* 'blossom'). Marking: I 2. 65/49.
Neg. B 664 (1957–58).
(j) taleñ si – Pomegranate fruit. *Punica granatum.* Skt./Pali *dālima.* Marking: – I 170. 65/50.

Note. I-tsing (see Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion,* p. 129) said that "all three kinds of cardamoms are found in Dvāravatī" (Siam): the commentator adds that these include "white cardamoms" from the Isthmus of Kra (Arabic *qâqulah, Amomum spp.*). Sir George Watt (*The Commercial Products of India,* p. 512) mentions the Malabar Cardamom, a variety of *Elettaria cardamomum,* as having white fruits. According to I. H. Burkill (*A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula,* p. 914, s.v. *Elettaria*), the colour is due to the method of drying: "Sun-dried fruits. . . .give 'green cardamoms'; store-dried, with a dipping in hot water, or sun-dried with dipping or placing in sulphurous vapour, give straw-coloured 'white cardamoms'; fruits dried without these precautions give dark 'black cardamoms'.

Plate 42. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) pāy kri – "the big Bean". *Dolichos lablab,* var. *lignosus.* Marking: – I 2. 65/55.

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(b) pāy krī (the same). Marking: – I 2. 65/55.
mathunsarā – the Grape (?). Skt./Pali *madhurasa*, "sweet taste". Marking: – I 2. 65/63.
Neg. B 660 (1957–58). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 53 (b).

(c) ṅhāpyow – Banana. *Musa sapientum.* Marking: – 65/30.
(d) ṅhākpyow (the same). Marking: – I 2, 65/31.
kulā pāy. "Indian Bean", Gram. *Cicer arietinum.* Marking: – I 2. 65/..
Neg. B 661 (1957–58). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 53 (a).

(e) siryak sī – Mango fruit. *Mangifera indica.* Marking: – I 2. 65/74.
(f) chi phūh – *Kaempferia pandurata* Roxb.(?), an edible and medicinal root. *Phū:*, 'bud', can also mean 'bulbous root'. Marking: – I 170. 65/34.

Note. U Wun (see his *Mranmā-sat-ñhwan: kyam:* p. 207, No. 2501) tells me that Burm. *chit phū:* is given as the equivalent of Pali *vacatta* (P.T.S. *vacattha*, "a kind of root") in the *nissaya* to a list of Roots in the *Vinaya, Mahāvagga* VI, Bhesajjakkhandaka. He, and two Professors of Botany at Rangoon University, Dr. Ko Ko Lay and U Ko Ko Gyi, agree in identifying it with *Kaempferia pandurata.* U Wun compares Thai *gkra*[4] *chai*, "a rhizome of the ginger family, used in curry or as a remedy", and *gka*[4] *aan*, "a medicinal herb growing in bamboo jungle. It is aromatic and stimulating like ginger. It is much used in decoctions in native medicine. The root stalks are edible" (G. B. McFarland, *Thai-English Dictionary*, pp. 24–25 and 82). According to Prof. Ko Ko Gyi, the name is now changed to *Gastrochilus pandurata.*

(g) krak krūn – *Jasminum sambac.* Marking: – I 2. 65/..
(h) krok krūn – *Jasminum sambac.* Marking: – I. 65/19.
(i) krwak krūn – *Jasminum sambac.* Marking: – 65/20.
Neg. B 663 (1957–58).
Note. U Wun gives me the identification, based on § 574 of the Old *Abhidhān Pāṭh Nissaya* of Kyaw Aung Sanda Sayadaw, where Burm. *krak rum:* is said to be Skt./Pali *mallikā*, i.e. *Jasminum sambac.* For this fragrant and medicinal shrub, see I. H. Burkill, *op. cit.*, pp. 1265–7.

(i) ñhiw pān – "Fading flower". Marking: – I. 2. 65/40.
Neg. B 663 (1957–58).
Note. U Wun suggests that *ñhiw pān* should really mean *ma ñhiw pān*, "unfading flower". The latter, according to both the Old and the New *Abhidhān Nisya* is the Sanskrit *amalātaka* or *amalānaka* (from *amlāna* "unwithered"), which is especially applied to *Gomphraena globosa*, the Globe Amaranth.

(j) kan khyop – *Plumbago zeylanica.* Marking: – I 2. 65/..
Note. U Wun tells me that *Amarakośa Nissaya* of Aggadhammâbhivaṁsa (1938), ch. 14, v. 80, identifies the Burmese medicinal plant *kan' khvup* with Sanskrit *citraka*, i.e. *Plumbago zeylanica.* It was used especially as a purgative.

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(k) tī sī te – "This is *Diospyros* fruit" (?) – This assumes that *tī* is the Mod. Burm. *tañ* = Pali *timbaru*, Pali/Sanskrit *tinduka*. Marking: – I 2. 65.

(l) tancikū ni – "Red Sandalwood". *Pterocarpus santalinus*, Sanskrit *raktacandana*, used for caste-marks. Marking: – I 2. 65/41.

(m) tancikū – Sandalwood. *Santalum album*. Sanskrit *candana*. Marking: – I 2. 65/41.
Ref. Htin Si, *JBRS* Vol. XXII, pp. 128–130. For the two 'Sandalwoods', see I. H. Burkill, *op. cit.*, pp. 1952 follg.

Plate 43. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) rya sakleñ – *Sesbania aegyptiaca*. Markings: – I 2. 65/67.

Note. U Wun tells me that the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (Old and New Nissaya) identify Burm. *yāsakyañ*: and *resakyañ*: with Pali *takkārī*; and the *Amarakośa Nissaya* with Sanskrit *tarkārī*, i.e. the plant *Sesbania aegyptiaca*, used medicinally especially by women.

(b) rya sakleñ pwoṅ – "Blossom of *Sesbania aegyptiaca*". Marking: – I 2 (?). 65/67.

kra tanchip – "Seal Lotus", the White Lotus. Marking: – I 170. 65/10.
Neg. B 651 (1957–58).

Note. U Wun tells me that Burm. *krā tanchip* is the usual translation of Sanskrit/Pali *puṇḍarīkaṁ* (Neuter), the White Lotus (Is this *Nelumbium* or *Nymphaea lotus* ?). As the tree sacred to the Buddha Śikhin, *puṇḍarīka* (Masculine) is usually translated *siryak phlū*, "White Mango", in Old Burmese.

(c) krā tanchip – "Seal Lotus". Marking: – 65/17.

(d) kra nī – "Red Lotus". I 2. 65/11.

Note. I suppose this is the Sanskrit *raktapadma*, Pali *rattapaduma*, said in the Pali Text Society Dictionary to be a variety of *Nelumbium speciosum*.

(e) si' t(w)ot – *Ficus hispida* or *F. Cunia*. Lower half lost.

(f) si twāt – *Ficus hispida* or *F. Cunia*. Marking: – 65/81.

(g) si twot – *Ficus hispida* or *F. Cunia*. Marking: – I 2. 65/81.

(h) katiw – "Musk." Marking: – I 2. 65/4.

(i) katiw te – "This is Musk". Marking: – I 2. 65/6.

(j) kātiw ñok – "Musk-sprout". Markings: – I 170. 65/15. I 2. 65/15.

(k) katiw ñok – "Musk-sprout". Markings: – I 2. 65/5.

Note. U Wun writes: – "Another name for Musk-deer and Musk in Sanskrit is *mṛga-nābhi*, "deer's navel"..... According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "the deer takes its name from the secretion of a sac, about the size of an orange, opening in front of the preputial aperture." – We may compare 'navel' and 'sac' and connect them with *ñok*, which I believe is the last part of Burm. *añhok*, "sprout from a seed".

(l) phīt khyaṅ – Indian Long Pepper – *Piper longum*. Marking: – I 2. 65/60.

(m) phit khyaṅ mryat – Root of the Long Pepper. Marking: – I 2. 65/6. A fragment.

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(n) phi khyaṅ mryat – Root of the Long Pepper. Marking: – I 2. 65/61.

Note. U Wun tells me that *Amarakośa Nissaya* ch. 19, v. 110, identifies Burm. *pitkhyaṅ mrac* with Sanskrit *pippalī mūlaṁ*, 'root of the Long Pepper'.

(o) pyā noy – "Honey creeper" (?). Marking: – I 2. 65/51.

Plate 44. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) pān pūy – *Careya arborea* (tree or shrub). Fragments. Marking: – I 113. 65/52; I 2. 65/52.

(b) pān pūy krī – "Big *Careya arborea*" (the tree). Fragment. Marking: – I 2. 65/53.

(c) sikhā hmūy – Fragrant cucumber. *Cucumis Melo.* Marking: – I 170. 65/79.

(d) sikhwā hmūy – Fragrant cucumber. *Cucumis Melo.* Marking: – I 170. 65/79.

(e) sikhwo nū – "Tender Cucumber". *Cucumis sativus* (?). Marking: – I 2. 65/70.

(f) ip mhūy si – *Embelia ribes* fruit. Marking: – I 2. 65/1.

(g) ip mhūy sī – *Embelia ribes* fruit. Marking: – I 2. 65/1.

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 53 (c).

Note. U Wun, on the evidence of the *Amarakośa* and Pali *Abhidhān Nissaya*, identifies Burm. *imwe* with Sanskrit *viḍaṅga* (Pali *biḷaṅga*), *vella*, and *citrataṇḍula*, i.e. *Embelia ribes*, a vermifuge and anthelmintic.

(h) secchi(m) – Myrobalan tree. *Terminalia belerica.* Marking: – I . ., (65)/84.

(i) than ryak – Palmyra jaggery. Marking: – . .4. A fragment.

(j) thān ryak – Palmyra jaggery. Marking: – I 170. 65/47.

(k) kra' klū te – "This is Bamboo-Reed" (?). Marking: – (64).

(l) kra klū te – "This is Bamboo-Reed" (?). Marking: – I 170. 65.

Note. U Wun points out that this name appears to combine generic names or prefixes for Bamboo (*kra*) and Reeds (*kyū*). For *kra*, cf. Burm. *kra khat* Bambusa arundinacea, *kralui* Dendrocalamus Brandisii, *krasoṅ*: Bambusa polymorpha. *Kyū* is applied to Phragmites Karka, Arundo donax, etc. See D. Rhind, *The Grasses of Burma* (1945), p. 28.

(m) kampwon – Soap Acacia. *Acacia concinna.* Marking: – (top lost).

(n) kampon – Soap Acacia. *Acacia concinna.* Marking: – I 2. 65/14 (k) (top lost).

Mod. Burm. *kaṅ pwan*: (?).

(o) klit – "Job's Tears". *Coix Lachrymae Jobis.* Marking: – I 170. 65/23.

(p) klit te – "This is *Coix*". Marking: – I 2. 65/23.

Note. U Wun, however, points out to me that both old and new Pali *Abhidhān* (v. 451) identify Burm. *kyit* with Pali/Sanskrit *nīvāra*, "wild rice". *Nīvāra* occurs in the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* (*Majjhima Nikāya*), and is translated *kyit*.

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Plate 45. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) kwam si – Betel palm nut. *Areca catechu*. Marking: – I 2. 65/26.

(b) klī mlyaṅ – ? *Caesalpinia Bonducella*. Marking: – I 2. 65/24.

Note. U Wun ingeniously suggests that if the word can be divided as *klim-lyaṅ*, one might connect it with Sanskrit *kalimāraka, kalimālaka, kalimālya* = Caesalpinia Bonducella and Burm. *kalim*. The bitter seeds are used as a medicine.

(c) lak thut pwoṅ – Blossom of *Wrightia spp*. (?), *Alstonia scholaris* (?). Marking: – I 170. 65/73.

Note. On the authority of the Old and New *Abhidhān* (v. 573), U Wun identifies *lak thut* with Sanskrit/Pali *kuṭaja, girimallikā* = *Wrightia antidysenterica*, But the bark of this was used in medicine, I think, not the blossom. Lace and Rodger (*List of Trees, Shrubs, etc. in Burma*, 1922 Ed., p. 214) identify 'lettôk' also with the tree *Alstonia scholaris*. According to Burkill (II, p. 2265), *Wrightia* has also "pretty flowers".

(d) cariw – *Piper chaba* (?) Marking: – I 113. 65/31 (?).

Note. U Wun, on the authority of the *Amarakośa Nissaya*, identifies *carui* with Sanskrit *cavana, cavī*, etc. It appears from Burkill's Dictionary (p. 1742) that there is some doubt about the plant, and that some botanists do not distinguish it from *Piper betle*. The name *cariw* occurs on at least 15 of the Chitsagôn plaques – more often, I think, than any other name; so perhaps the plant was a common one. In Modern Burmese the Betel Leaf takes on the name of the Areca Palm. In Old Burmese two inscriptions (*I.B.*, Pl. I 36^{19-23}; V 495 b^{12}) mention it under its Mon name *saṁmhlū, saṁmlhū* (Middle Mon *sablu*). The plant appears to have spread west from Malaysia, where it is native. One wonders if *cariw* has any connection with Senoi *jĕrek* or Malay *sirih* (see Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II, p. 552); but this is quite doubtful.

(e) kram reñ – "Juice of the Sugarcane". *Saccharum officinarum*. Marking: – I 170. 65/16. 363.

(f) bhattakiy – ? Egg-plant. *Solanum melongena*. Marking: – I 2. 65/62.

Note. On the authority of the *Abhidhān-ṭīkā-nisya* (Vol. II, p. 292), U Wun doubtfully connects this word with Burm. *bātakī* = Sanskrit *vārtākī*, the Egg-plant. The ordinary Burmese word for this, *kharam:*, occurs in Old Burmese (see *JBRS* Vol. XXX (1940), Part I, p. 292).

(g) raṅmā – Chittagong wood. *Chickrassia tabularis*. Marking: – 65/69.

(h) sāniw khūy – ? "Wreath of *Mesua ferrea* flowers". Marking: – I 2. 65/76.

Note. *sāniw* occurs in Old Burm. *kaṁkaw sanuiw* = *Mesua ferrea*, Ironwood. *Kaṁkaw* is the Burmese word, *kajnu'* the Old Mon word for the tree; *sāniw* is a corruption of *kajnu'*. Possibly *khūy* implies a wreath of the flowers.

(i) hinkiw – Asa foetida. *Ferula Asafoetida*. Marking: – I 2. 65/86.

Sanskrit *hiṅgu*, from Arabic. "A fluid or resinous substance prepared from the roots... used as a medicine or for seasoning". Written *rhin:khui* in modern Burmese.

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(j) khi-rhā pwāṅ, khīḥ-rhā-pwāṅ – Blossom of Mimusops, *Acanthus illicifolius*, Mod. Burm. *kharā*: (?). Marking: – I 2. 65/. .

(k) ò-ryat sī – Bael fruit. *Aegle marmelos*. Marking: – I 2. 65/77.
Sanskrit *bilva*. Old Mon *bil*. Mod. Mon *bī*. Mod Burm. *'up-rhac*.

(l) tān (ch)u lyān – ? Marking: – I 2. 65/3.

(m) mhān rwaṅ – a kind of Wood-apple (Burm. *mhan*)? A fragment. No marking.
Note. U Wun writes: – "There are 3 *mhan* trees mentioned in verse 51 of *Samvara Pyo* by Shin Raṭṭhasāra, viz (i) *mhan lhyaṅ*:, also spelt *mhan raṅ*: – unidentified. (ii) *mhan kū*. Elaeagnus latifolia. (iii) *mhan to'*, Garcinia xanthochymus.

(n) rāy riw si – Fruit of *Morinda angustifolia* or *citrifolia*. Mod. Burm. *rai*: *rui*. Marking: – I 2. 65/70.

(o) muriw pwoṅ – Mudar blossom. *Calotropis gigantea* or *procera*. Mod. Burm. *murui:* Marking: – I 2. 65/64.

Plate 46. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) pān cum|(c)ī (p)u(ti) – "Rosary of sets of flowers". Marking: – I. 65.
U Wun compares Mod. Burm. *pan:poṅ:*

(b) tān rhūm – Pine tree. Mod. Burm. *thaṅ:rū:* Marking: – I 2. 65/44.
Note. U Wun identifies it with Sanskrit/Pali *sarala*, the 'straight' tree, especially *Pinus longifolia*.

(c) chap swā – Screwpine. *Pandanus furcatus*. Marking: – I 2. 65/38.

(d) chan te – "This is Husked Rice". Lower part lost. Marking: – I 2. 65/37.

(e) pān phlo – "White Flower". Top part lost. Marking: – I 2. 65/54.

(f) . . . .si. . – ". . . .Fruit". Only bottom right corner of a Reverse. Marking: – 65/26.

(g) . . .plūḥ si te – "This is the fruit of the White (?). . . ."
Bottom right corner of a Reverse. No marking.

(h) . . (kā p)yā noy te – "This is the Honey Creeper"(?). For *pyā noy*, cf. Pl. 43 (o) *supra*.
Lower half of tablet. Marking: – 65/. . .

(i) . . .(so) klot. . .kun te. . .'klu' te –
". . . . . .may they all be saved! This (offering) is Bamboo Reed" (?). For kra' klū, cf. Pl. 44 (k, l) *supra*.
Fragment from right lower corner of a Reverse. Marking: – I 2.

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(j) i kā ṅā tu so|te – "It was I who made this image". Marking: – I 2. 65/51.

(k) īy kāḥ ṅā' mi bhi|w teḥ
"As for this (image), it is for the profit of my mother." Marking: – 65/50.

(l) i kā ṅā tū so te|ṅā mi le ra ca ci te
"It was I who made this image. May my mother also enjoy the reward!"
Lower part of a Reverse. Marking: – I 2. 65/.5.

Plate 47. *Chitsagôn Reverses* cont.

(a) īy kaḥ (ṅa ami) |bhiw teḥ – "This is for (my mother)."
Lower left corner of a Reverse. Marking: – I 2.

(b) purhaḥ |rhraṅ phiw | te ‖ phit khyaṅ te
"This is for His Majesty the king. It is Long Pepper". For *phit khyaṅ*, cf. Pl. 43 (l, m, n).
In two fragments, complete. Marking: – I 2. I 2.

(c) īy kā |satwā tec |kā kliy klwa |t ra ciy te chu |ra ciy te ‖ kra' klū te
"As for this (offering), may all living creatures win complete release! May they get the Boon! – This (offering) is Bamboo-Reed" (?). For *kra' klū*, cf. Pl. 44 (k, l), 46 (i).
In two fragments, complete. Marking: – I 2.

(d) ....(cakkra) | walā liy (m)u |non so nat | teckā ā mi | te kra klū te (|) | ceñcim rheñ |ciy te
"....I give (*mi* for *pi* ?) (the merit of my offering) to all the spirits of the four aeons (?) of universes. This (offering) is Bamboo Reed (?). May they long reign in bliss!"
Upper part lost. No marking on Reverse.

(e) īy mhya |' so kā | dhammarājā pu |rh(aḥ).....
"As for these many (offerings), may His Majesty the King of the Law...."
Lower part lost. Marking: – I 2.

(f) .....hr..... |leñkoṅ |nhoṅ so le| ñkoṅ maṅ kri |āphiw te
"(The merit is) for kings (present ?) and future".
Upper part lost. Marking: – I 2.

Plate 48. *Chitsagôn Reverses*. cont.

(a) īy mhya |so kā pu |rhaḥ rhraṅ ṅhā |te ‖ rhok |pwāṅ
"These many (offerings) are on behalf of His Majesty. – Lemon blossom."
In two fragments, almost complete. Marking: – I 2.

(b) īy kā |kampon |te ‖ maṅ dhaṅmarā |jā purhaḥ phlec |rā rāḥ kā caṅ |so ra ciy si
"This (offering) is Soap Acacia. Wherever His Religious Majesty the King of the Law becomes a Buddha, may he have (everything) pure!" For *kampon*, cf. Pl. 44 (m, n) *supra*.
In two fragments complete. Marking: – I 2.

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(c) īy kā | dhaṁmarājā |ryaḥ maṅkri phi |ṷ te purhaḥ phle |c mukā ālwam |klot pā ciy | (ras)īy kra klū |te
"This (offering) is on behalf of the righteous king, the King of the Law" [*ryaḥ* for *taryaḥ*]. "When he becomes a Buddha, may (we) all be saved with him! – This is Hermit's (?) Bamboo-Reed". For *kra klū*, cf. Pl. 44 (k, l), 46 (i), 47 (c). No marking.

(d) phalā |dhaṁmarājā |taryaḥ maṅ |ṅhā te ‖ pu |phlec kā ā |lwaṁ cūṁ ciy so |te
"Cardamom. It is for the righteous king, the King of the Law. When he becomes a Buddha" [*pu* for *purhaḥ*], "may all be perfect!"
Slight damage on left side of Reverse. Marking: – I 2.

(e) maṅ dhaṁ |marājā pu |rhaḥ phlec mu |kā mliy thak |hiy so mhyā cuṁ ciy so |phlec ciy te
"When His Majesty the righteous king becomes a Buddha, may everything that is on the earth become perfect!"
Complete in 2 fragments. No marking.

(f) īy (kā) cāw kri ṅhā |te ‖ (rhaṅ).....
"This (offering) is for the great Chief. The lord (?)....."
Lower half of plaque lost. Marking: – I 2.

Plate 49. Oval tablets with śikhara, set in deep squared rims. From Tagaung.
Text, pp. 28, 36, 97–98, 134.

(a) From Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung. Tablet with thick deep rims squared below, arching to a sharp point above. They are broken on the right side and right bottom corner. Beaded border all around the oval. The Buddha sits on broad double-lotus ledge between pellet-pillars (abacus hung with beads). These support a trefoil arch with a high and narrow 'tongued' śikhara, small stupa-finial, and streamers. Branches of peepal rise like flames about the śikhara. On either side of the archway is 1 tall stupa, with 2 minute ones in tiers on the outer side of it, and 1 small stupa between 2 minute ones below it. There is 1 medium stupa on either side between the tall one and the śikhara, with a minute one on the outer side of it – 8 stupas altogether on either side. 3 lines of Nāgarī in high relief at the base.
U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 65 and p. 50.
Height 6¾ in. Breadth at centre 4¾ in. Depth of rim at base 2½ in.

(b) Detail of 3 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' on (a). Mon Bo Kay reads: –
ye dhamā hetuprabhavā hetu(ṁ) tesā(ṁ) tathā |gato hyavada tesā(ṁ) ca yo nirodho |eva(ṁ) vādī mahāśamaṇa(ḥ)

(c) Similar tablet, probably from the same mould, and also from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung. Rim damaged at right bottom corner.
Height 6¾ in. Breadth at centre 4¼ in. Depth of rim at base 2½ in.

(d) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 159/59. Locality: – Burma. Terracotta votive plaque. O. Pn. 3, O. Pn. 2". – O. Pn. = Old Pagan = Tagaung. Both these tablets come from

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Tagaung. The one on the right – an oval plaque with deep squared rims and top broken above the Buddha's head – is probably the same as (a) and (c) *supra*. For the one on the left, with 3 Buddhas, see *infra*, Pl. 56 (a).

(e) Similar squared oval tablet, with top broken above the Buddha's head. What remains, agrees with the tablets described above. This fragment, now at Mandalay Arch. Office, is marked XI 4: so it certainly comes from Tagaung, and very likely also from Ôdôk pagoda. The 3 lines of Nāgarī are fairly well preserved.

(f) Similar oval tablet, squared at the base with thick rims, and pointed at the top. Now at Mandalay Arch. Office, marked "32" in Burmese. It is complete, but weathered. It appears to come from the same mould as those mentioned above.
Height 6¾ in. Breadth at base 4½ in. Thickness of rim at base 2⅓ in.

Plates 50 to 53. TABLETS WITH THE BUDDHA SEATED IN PRALAMBANÂSANA, DHARMACAKRAMUDRĀ.

Plate 50. *Oval tablets with śikhara. Pagán. Twanté.*
Text, pp. 136–138.

(a) Rimmed tablet, 'fig-leaf' in shape (pointed at the top), with beading all around the oval. Found in 1926 E. of Mingalazedi, Pagán. The Buddha sits Europeanwise, with feet resting on a lotus footstool. His robe falls squarely over the double lotus on which he sits. Pellet-pillars, with abacus at the top, support the laddered trefoil arch, triangular 'tongued' śikhara, and stupa-finial with streamers. On either side are the usual 2 tall and medium stupas, with 2 small ones flanking the top of the medium stupa. Below these, are 3 small stupas in tiers along the outer side of the tall stupa. There are also 2 small stupas in line below it, and a minute one placed a little higher, on the outer side of the 2 small ones. There are thus 10 stupas altogether on either side of the archway. Below the lotus seat are 5 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' in high relief. The lines are divided by the Buddha's feet and footstool, with the Deer attentive on either side of it, and the beaded Wheel below. Wheel and Deer indicate that the scene is the Preaching of the First Sermon in the Deer park near Benares.
Height 7 in. Breadth 5¼ in.
Ref. Thomann, *Pagán*, afbildung 70 and p. 103.
Cf. U Mya, *VTB* II, Pls. 87, 88 and p. 37, "from Hmawza", i.e. Śrī Kṣetra.

(b) A more damaged specimen from the same site, with Old Mon writing (not legible in the print) on the top rim: –

wo kyāk kon sañ

"This is the Buddha of *Kon sañ*", presumably the donor.

(c) Another specimen marked "I 106, found in 1926 at a ruined shrine E. of the Mingalazedi", presumably the same site, where, it seems, 3 specimens of 2 sizes were discovered (see *infra*). This specimen has low rims, and is slightly damaged on the left side.

(d) Rimmed tablet marked "I 177. From a ruined shrine E. of the Mingalazedi".
Height 5¾ in. Breadth 4½ in.

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This is a specimen of the smaller size. There are other differences too. The lines of the śikhara here are horizontal, not 'tongued'. The pillars supporting it are round and solid (not 'pellet'), with torus bases. The large side-stupas have square beaded *harmikā*. The 3 small stupas below it are in line, and of equal size. There are 2 small stupas, not 3, on the outer side of the large ones; 1 minute one on the inner side is added and another above the abacus below the medium stupa – 11 altogether on either side. There are only 3 lines of Nāgarī.
U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 57 and p. 47.

(e) Rimless 'fig-leaf' tablet found at Twanté, Pyilônchantha Shwényaung monastery. Thickly coated with gold leaf, but appears to be similar to (a) above, but much smaller. It is now at the Burma Historical Commission Office, Rangoon.
Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. Cf. also *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 2.

(f) Lower fragment of a rimmed tablet probably similar to (a) above, showing the *pralambaṅâsana*, with the 5 lines of Nāgarī, the attentive Deer couchant, and beaded Wheel at the base.

Note. Compare the rimless plaque shown at Plate I (top) in G. Coedès, "Siamese Votive Tablets", *J.S.S.* Vol. XX (Part 1), 1926. On p. 4 he traces this type to Bodhgayā. There is clear family-relationship between our two oval types (a) and (d), and the Siam plaque. This last resembles (d) in the solidity of the pillars; it resembles (a) in the triangular shape of the śikhara, and (generally) the grouping of stupas; but it has only 9 on either side, omitting, it seems, the minute stupa below the main one. The height of the Siam plaque is given as 0 m. 125 = almost 5 in. With regard to the provenance of the Siam plaque, note M. Coedès' correction at *J.S.S.* Vol. XXI (Part 3), 1923, p. 196, n. 1: "The place of discovery of this tablet is Dong Sak, near P'ong Tük, and not Jaiya".

Plate 51. *Oval bronze mould. Chitsagôn squared tablet of Sumedha (Nāgasena).*
Text, pp. 17, 76, 99, 102.

(a, b) Bronze mould, Obverse and Reverse, for making such oval tablets. From Myinkaba, Pagán. Now in Rangoon University Library. Beaded border runs all around the edge. The Buddha sits between strong rounded pillars with abacus, supporting a high trefoil arch (the top lobe much larger than the side ones), short horizontal śikhara, and stupa-finial with streamers. The whole, including the side-stupas, closely resembles Pl. 50 (c); but here the base of the large stupa is in line with the base, not the top, of the double lotus; and below it, is a line of 10 small stupas, 5 on either side of the Buddha's legs. Thus there are 13 stupas on either side. There appear to be only 2 lines of Nāgarī, with the 2 Deer and Wheel at the bottom. Height $5\frac{1}{10}$ in. Breadth $3\frac{9}{10}$ in.

(c) *Neg.* 2710 (1926–27). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 60 and p. 47. *Ref. ASI* 1927, p. 168.
Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Marked I 73/200. Found in a mound in Maung Chit Sa's field ('Chitsagôn') S. of Pagán-hmyaw temple, E. of the Nanda. The Buddha sits between pellet-pillars with abacus, which support a trefoil arch (the top lobe much larger than the side ones), and short śikhara with triangular 'tongue' crossing the horizontals up to the stupa-

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finial. On either side are 3 tiers of medium stupas, with 3 small ones on their inner sides, rising in échelon towards the top. There are 3 worn lines of Nāgarī on either side of the Buddha's feet, and the two Deer beside his footstool. The Wheel at the base is barely visible.

(d) The Reverse of (c), with 9 lines of Pali inscription incised in Mon script: –

‖ thero |yathā nāgase |no pañāya a |dhirocati sahassa |buddha kammena buddho ta |ssa anāgate ‖ sume |dho nāma bhikkhunā ka |to । vimuttatthaṁ saha |tthenevā ti

"(This) Elder, like *Nāgasena*, takes keen delight in learning. By (this) work (in making) a thousand Buddhas, (may I become) a Buddha in (my) future existence. The work was done by the monk named *Sumedha*, with his own hand, for the sake of Deliverance".

Neg. 2711 (1926–27).

Ref. ASI 1927, p. 168, where Duroiselle relates this *Sumedha* with the *Sumedhapaṇḍita* of Rājakumār's inscription (*c.* 1113 A.D. – v. Vol. I, p. 76). *Nāgasena* is doubtless the *thera* of the *Milindapañha*, who explained Buddhism to the Indo-Greek king Milinda/Menander.

(e, f) In 1927 the Sumedha tablet was as shown in (c, d). (e, f) shows it as it is today – cracked, and with one side lost.

Note. At *ASB* 1938, p. 6, Duroiselle reported the finding in a small ruined temple "a few yards to the W. of the Gawdawpalin....a terracotta votive tablet 5 in. × 4 in. bearing a figure of Buddha in the *dharmacakramudrā*...seated European fashion...It contains....*ye dhammā hetu pabhavā* etc. in Pali in Nagari characters inscribed below the pedestal". At *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 2, and p. 134, the lower half of a Pagán tablet is shown with the Buddha seated in *pralambanâsana, dharmacakramudrā*, with Deer on either side of his feet.

Plate 52. *Tablets with squared base. Shwéhsandaw (Revd. Lady Sisīṅ) etc.*

Text, p. 101.

(a) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 59 and p. 47.

Ref. ASI 1915, Part I, Pl. XX (f) and p. 24.

Height 4 in. Breadth at base 2 in.

Tall narrow rimless tablet arching to a point above. Marked "I 36 (1930–31). From Hsè Gyi's field near the S. side of the Tawyagyaung, Myinkaba". Beading all around the edge. The Buddha sits between rounded pillars, with torus and abacus hung with beads. The horizontal ribs of the śikhara are visible behind the trefoil arch. 3 medium-sized stupas in tiers on either side, with 1 small one between the top tier and the śikhara, and 1 minute one above the abacus – altogether 5 on either side. 3 (or 4 ?) faint lines of Nāgarī below, with the Wheel between 2 couchant Deer.

(b) Another rimless specimen from the same site, with similar markings.

(c) A similar rimless tablet found in relic-chamber at Shwéhsandaw pagoda. – Obverse.

Neg. 2727 (1926–27). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 58 and p. 47.

Height 4½ in. Breadth at base 2½ in. Thickness $\frac{11}{16}$ in.

(d) The Reverse of (c), marked "I 238, from Pagán Shwéhsandaw", with 2 lines of Old Mon writing engraved down the plaque: –

‖ wo kyāk ya |tri sisīṅ

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"This is the Buddha of the Revd. Lady *Sisīṅ*".
tri is short for *trila*, a colloquial or slightly late form of *tirla*, applied especially to holy persons. Is the name *Sisīṅ* for *Ṛṣiśṛṅgin*, the 'horned anchoret'?

(e) The Reverse of a similar tablet, marked "I 238, from Pagán Shwéhsandaw", with 2 similar lines of Old Mon in the same cursive hand: –
‖ wo' kyāk | ya trila sisīṅ
"This is the Buddha of the Revd. Lady *Sisīṅ*".

(f) Rimmed tablet with beaded border, probably squared at the base, but this is broken below the Buddha's feet and lotus footstool. At either side of the śikhara archway are 4 tiers of medium-sized stupas, the base of the lowest being in line with the base of the double lotus on which he sits. The tablet is marked "14" in Burmese.
U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 62 and p. 48.
Height 5¼ + in. Breadth 3¾ in.

Plate 53. *Shwéhsandaw. Nyaungbingan. The Buddha between Bodhisattvas* (*Kunsaṅkā*).
Text, pp. 98, 102, 138.

(a) Well-preserved fragment showing the lower half of a rimless tablet, squared at the base, similar to Pl. 52 (a, b, c). It shows the seated Buddha from the shoulders downwards. – Obverse.

(b) The Reverse of (a) marked I 178 (?). From Shwéhsandaw, Pagán. It shows the last 2 lines of a mysterious inscription.

(c) *Neg.* 2436 (1923–24).
Circular votive tablet from Nyaungbingan village, ¾ mile W. of Hsameikshé, 2 miles S. of Thazi, Meiktila district. It shows the haloed Buddha seated on throne in *pralambanâsana*, with hands in *dharmacakramudrā*, between 2 haloed Bodhisattvas (Lokanātha and Maitreya ?), seated on the same throne in *lalitâsana*, their outer legs flat on seat, their inner legs hanging. Their inner hands are raised before the body, probably holding stems of flowers, their outer hands rest on the seat behind their hips. 4 horizontal lines divided by the Buddha's halo, indicate faint Nāgarī writing in high relief at the top of the tablet. – A unique plaque, but much worn and indistinct.

(d) Archaic Burmese inscription of 3 lines on the Reverse of (c): –
‖ kunsaṅkā nhaṅ pay phliñ ye' ‖
"(The donors) are *Kunsaṅkā*" [Sanskrit *guṇasaṅga*, 'association with good qualities'] "and *Pay phliñ*" – perhaps husband and wife.
Neg. 2437 (1923–24).
Ref. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1922, p. 11.

Plate 54. LOKANĀTHA, SEATED. TWANTÉ. PAGÁN. MINBU (*2 TYPES, cf. Pl. 7*).
Text, pp. 16–17, 191–193.

(a) Phot. Tin Oo.
Height 4½ in. Breadth at base 2½ in.

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Rimless tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Found in 1957 at Hsutaungpyi pagoda, ¼ mile S. of Kanbè village, 4 miles E. of Twanté. Badly weathered. This tablet, so far as one can judge by what remains, is exactly like the gilded Kanthit seal of Aniruddha (Pl. 7); and though it does not bear his signature on the underrim, it may probably be attributed to him. The Nāgarī inscription on the Obverse is worn almost illegible here, but may be partly read on Pl. 7. Amitābha, seated in *dhyānamudrā* in Lokanātha's headdress, is clearer on this tablet than on Pl. 7. The delicate pose of the left hand toying with the lotus stalk, is clearer here; also details of the royal ornaments, belt, necklets, armlet and *upavīta*.

(b) Phot. Tin Oo.

The lower part (damaged) of a similar rimless tablet showing Lokanātha. From the same site.

(c) *Neg.* 3378 (1930–31).

Ref. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, pp. 177–8, and Part II, Pl. XCIX (c). Nihar-ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 112.

Thick-rimmed square tablet, chamfered at the top corners, found in the relic-chamber of the encased stupa near the Seinnyet pagodas, Pagán, where another 'seal' of Aniruddha (Pl. 6 a) was discovered, together with the Khăbin (Twanté) pot (*infra*, Pl. 452 b). 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' in high relief are seen below the lotus-seat. Continued up the right side of the tablet.

(d) *Neg.* 450 (1906-07). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 69 and p. 52.

A very similar, but much more weathered tablet, thick-rimmed and square, chamfered at the top corners. Found long ago at Minbu (or Paunglin, in Minbu district ?).

Note. (c) and (d) show a different type of representing the seated Lokanātha from (a, b) and Pl. 7. But all, perhaps, may be connected with Aniruddha. The differences have been noted in the text (ch. X, pp. 191–192). Note also that just as Aniruddha hesitated in his single Buddha tablets between Śikhara with Stupa-finial, or plain Umbrella (Pls. 6 a and c), so he does with his Lokanātha tablets.

Plates 55 to 60.

TRIADS.

Plate 55. *Buddha in abhayamudrā* (?), *seated between Earth-touching Buddha and Maitreya* (*Pyu*).
Text, pp. 99–100.

(a) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 105 and pp. 69–70.

Height 3¼ in. Breadth at base 2⅜ in. Thickness $\frac{7}{16}$ in.

Square tablet arching to a low peak. Marked I 168 (the last figure is doubtful). It comes from Kyazin temple S.E. of Myinpagan. Shows 3 connected double-lotus thrones, with 3 haloed figures seated on mats above them, each under his umbrella. The central figure with his lotus throne is a little higher and more prominent than those beside him. He is a Buddha seated, right leg on left, with hands brought together before the body. The *dharmacakramudrā* may possibly be intended: but it looks more like *abhayamudrā*, with right hand raised, palm open, supported by

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the left hand cupped below it. The figure on the left (his right) is the Earth-touching Buddha, seated right leg on left, with (probably) an almsbowl in the left hand resting in the lap. The figure on the right is a Bodhisattva, doubtless Maitreya, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, his left (outer) leg flat on the seat, his right (inner) knee half raised. Both hands fall naturally, without a flower, towards the front. He wears a crown, large ear-tubes, starlike stomacher, necklets, armlets, wristlets, and *upavīta* which falls in a loop before his feet. His umbrella is a little smaller than the others', and his lotus seat a little lower. 2 flower-medallions (?) fill the gaps between the 3 umbrellas. The common pedestal below the 3 lotuses has a tendril pattern on the recessed sides. The centre panel is plain, but engraved with a faint legend in Pyu characters, read by Duroiselle: –

budha mga: psu: khṅu

Duroiselle found one such terracotta tablet, together with a very similar bronze (? iron) one – see (e) of this plate – in "a mound near the river bank, close to the south of the Tawyagyaung monastery on the W. of the Nanpaya temple". (*ASI* 1928, pp. 125–6).

(b) The Pyu writing on pedestal faintly legible – as described by Duroiselle.
Height $3\frac{3}{16}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. Thickness $\frac{7}{16}$ in.

(c) Similar tablet marked I 169 (1928–29), said to come from a hollow pagoda W. (or N.W.) of Sin' păhto zedi.

(d) The similar 'bronze' (it is as heavy as iron) tablet found by Duroiselle in Po Tha's field S. of the Tawyagyaung, Myinpagán. Here 3 stupas seem to take the place of the 3 umbrellas over the seated figures; their 3 lotus thrones are distinct; the pedestal is plain, and there is no Pyu inscription.
Neg. 2903 (1927–28). U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 106 and p. 70.
Ref. ASI 1928, p. 125 and Pl. LIV a.
Height $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. Thickness at base (partly hollow) $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(e) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 151/59. Locality: Burma. Terracotta votive plaques 10317, 10321." – The latter plaque, on the right, is clearly a duplicate of the terracotta tablets mentioned above, with Pyu inscription on pedestal faintly visible. The plaque on the left is a tall arched tablet, squared at the base, similar to Pl. 52 a, b, c, showing the Buddha seated in *pralambanâsana dharmacakramudrā*, with 3 broken lines of Nāgarī, and 2 Deer couchant at the base.

Note. For a Triad tablet probably similar (I have not the volume), see *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 6, and p. 133. It was found near the Abèyadana. Two other specimens of this kind of Triad on votive tablets were reported by Taw Sein Ko in 1919. See *ASI* 1919, Part I, pp. 19–20, and *ASB* 1919, p. 42, para 76. They were found at Sindè village, Prome district: – "Tablet No. 1 is semi-elliptical in shape, and measures nearly 3 × $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It bears 3 seated figures, all seated on lotus thrones. The middle figure represents Gautama Buddha seated crosslegged in the *dharmacakramudrā*. It is plainly dressed. On its right is a similar figure, but smaller in size and seated in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. On its left is another seated figure, but, as far as it can be made out from what remains of it, it is elaborately dressed. It has a high headdress, and a wreath or a chain falls loosely over its breast. It is also seated crosslegged, but its right knee is slightly raised, and its right foot appears to be resting on something which cannot be identified. Both hands are

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pendent and rest on the knees....It may be assigned to about the 10th or 11th century A.D. Tablet No. 2 is a replica of Tablet No. 1".

Plate 56. *Twin Miracle Triads. Tagaung. Myoma.*

Text, pp. 28, 97–98, 174.

(a) Large rimmed tablet (rims mostly broken except at the top), originally squared on 3 sides, but tapered to a sharp apex. The apex rim is bare. Below it, the plaque proper is rounded to an arch at the top, with beaded border at the sides and base. This tablet is pitted in the apex, and damaged at the top left corner. The central Buddha sits, touching Earth, on double lotus mat and low throne, indented and recessed. There are 3 beaded trefoil arches, resting on pellet pillars. The central one is backed with high 'tongued' śikhara, āmalaka, stupa-finial, and streamers. The side-arches have only a 'flame' apex. There are peepal-sprays between them and the central arch. 2 Buddhas stand on lotus footstools in the side-arches, their inner hands raised before the body (the one on the right in *abhayamudrā*), their outer hands hanging (the one on the left in *varadamudrā*). Above them are 6 stupas, medium and small, on either side of the śikhara. At the base there are 2 lines of Nāgarī in high relief, read by Mon Bo Kay as follows: –

om ye dhamā hetu prabhavā tesā(ṁ) hetu(ṁ) tathāgato hyava | da tesā(ṁ) ca yo nirodho eva(ṁ)vādī mahāśamaṇā(ḥ)

Now at Mandalay Arch. Office, this tablet probably comes (like those in (b)-(f) below) from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung. It represents the Twin Miracle. As for the side-Buddhas, note that the same two attitudes are shown on the tablet with two standing Buddhas found at Rangoon Kyaik Dé-ap (Botahtaung) pagoda.

Height $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $5\frac{13}{16}$ in. Thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 63 and 64 and p. 49. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1916, p. 38 (Tablet A).

(b) Base of a similar tablet with deep rims, marked XI 3, from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung, showing the 2 lines of Nāgarī and border beading.

(c) Similar tablet with deep rims, also from Ôdôk pagoda, Tagaung, damaged on left side and bottom corner, but complete on the right.

Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Thickness of rim $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(d) Detail of the 2 lines of Nāgarī inscription at the base of (c), damaged on the left side.

(e) Detail of another specimen with only one line of Nāgarī at the base.

Note. Mon Bo Kay is of the opinion (no doubt rightly) that there is really no difference between these Twin Miracle tablets, whether they shew 2 lines of Nāgarī 'creed' or only 1. In the latter case the clay, when soft, was allowed to spill over the lower line.

(f) A thick-rimmed specimen, broken across the middle, from relic-chamber of Shwésaryan pagoda on the bank of North Nawin Chaung, Myoma village, some 15 to 20 miles N. of Old Prome.

Neg. 4512 (1940–41).

Ref. ASB 1941, pp. 24–25 and Pl. III (b). The two standing figures are Buddhas, not Bodhisattvas.

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Plate 57. *Triads from Tagaung. Jesalya's triad from Pagán.*

Text, pp. 28, 99.

(a) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Neg. No. 158/59. Locality Burma. Terracotta votive plaques Tg. 1, O. Pn. 3". – Tg. stands for Tagaung. O. Pn. probably for 'Old Pagan', i.e. Tagaung. The 2 tablets appear to duplicate the two types mentioned in the preceding plate, with 2 lines or 1 line of Nāgarī respectively. Very likely both come also from Ôdôk pagoda. They illustrate the Twin Miracle.

(b, c,) *Neg.* 3362 (1930–31).

Ref. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 177 (item 1) and Part II, Pl. XCVIII (c).

Height $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.

2 specimens of one type of rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. They were found by U Mya in the E. relic-chamber under a brick platform of an encased stupa, "in the middle of a field to the N.E. of Thiripyitsaya".

The central figure in strong relief, the ETB., with beaded shoulder-nimbus, sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus between elaborately carved pillars. These support abacus, trefoil arch with large central lobe, bead-edged and 'tongued' śikhara, stupa-finial and streamers. Boughs of the peepal tree branch up from behind the arch. On single lotuses, to right and left of the Buddha, sit half-kneeling 2 small crowned figures in *namaskāra mudrā*, facing front, but with knees (the further one raised) turned towards the Buddha. They appear to be Devas rather than Bodhisattvas. Below the lotus seats are 2 lines of Pali in Mon script in high relief: –

eso bhagavā sambe(ṅ =) jesalyena ka|to vimut(t)at(thaṁ) sa(ha)t(th)enevā ti

"This Blessed One was made by the *sambeṅ Jesalya* with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance."

(d) All that remains of the one specimen of (b) found in the Mandalay Arch. Office.

Plate 58. *Earth-touching Buddha between Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Taungdwingyi, Alanmyo, Hpowundaung, Pagán.*

Text, p. 99.

Three rimmed tablets, all very similar on both sides, squared below, arching to a point above. No beading. The Obverses show the Buddha seated on double lotus above a low recessed and indented throne. He sits between pellet-pillars supporting a trefoil arch and high 'tongued' śikhara with āmalaka- or stupa-finial. 3 peepal sprays branch out and upwards on either side of the arch. Below them, on growing stems of lotus stools, are the two small *Aggasāvakas*, half-kneeling with back knee raised, turned to the Buddha, but facing front with hands in *namskāramudrā*. There is no writing except on the Reverses, which have merely the Pali: –

namo buddhāya "Honour to the Buddha!"

(a, b) Marked XII 2, i.e. from Taungdwingyi. High uṣṇīṣa.

Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. – Obverse and Reverse.

(c, d) From Alanmyo, opposite Thayetmyo.

Neg. 1256, 1257 (1913–14). – Obverse and Reverse.

(e, f) Found in the Small Shwéthalyaung Cave, Hpowundaung, opposite Mônywa across the Chindwin.

Note. A similar broken plaque, marked I 205, with similar inscription, comes from Pagán.

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Plate 59. *Earth-touching Buddha "between hermits, chiefs of the Saṅgha". (Muggaliputta. Silapā).* Text, pp. 76–77, 99.

(a, b, c) 3 specimen rimless tablets, squared below, arching to a point above. Each has the follg. line of Mon/Pali below the lotus-seats: –

wo' kyek saṅganāga isi [*or* īsvi ?] pākāra

"This is the Buddha between hermits, chiefs of the Saṅgha" – i.e. the *aggasāvakas* Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

The Obverse shows a short stout Buddha with shoulder-nimbus and flame-tipped uṣṇīṣa, seated on double lotus between turned pillars with torus, lotus capital and abacus. The laddered trefoil arch above him supports a broad bead-edged foliated śikhara, with stupa-finial and streamers. 3 sprays of peepal branch out on either side behind pillars, arch and śikhara. Below them are two small bead-haloed hermits, half-kneeling on lotus stools, hands in *namaskāramudrā*. Their knees are turned towards the Buddha, the inner knee half-raised. Their faces are half-turned to the front. The large heads and soft plump bodies of this Triad contrast with the Pāla tradition of tall masculine strength, typical of Aniruddha's tablets.

Ref. Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, p. 110, and Pl. LI (d). From relic-chamber in mound near Htilominlo temple. Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 49 (a, b) and p. 38.

Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base 3 to $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(a) *Neg.* 3110 (1928–29). From the W. mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo temple. – Obverse.

(b) Another specimen, perhaps the one marked I 244, from the same site. –Obverse.

(c) The specimen marked "I 246.A3", from the same site. – Obverse.

(d) The Reverse of (c), with 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

‖ muggaliputtācaraye |na yo māpitaṁ idaṁ buddharū |paṁ ‖

"This image of the Buddha was created by the Teacher *Muggaliputta*". – This might well be "the *thera Muggaliputtaka*" of Rājakumār's inscription (1113 A.D.), mentioned, first after the Mahāthera, among the witnesses of the Kubyaukgyi dedication. Cf. also Pl. 61 (c) *infra*; and Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, p. 168. It appears that plaques signed by Muggaliputta and by Sumedha (another witness) were both found in the Chitsagôn trove of Archaic Burmese.

(e) The Reverse of another tablet marked "I 246. A3" from the same site, with 3 similar lines of Pali in Mon script signed by the *ācariya Muggaliputta.*

(f) The Reverse of another tablet broken at the top, marked "I 243", from the same site, with 2 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

| silapā |bhikkhu ‖

"The monk Sīlapāla", doubtless the donor. *Neg.* 1125 (1912–13).

Plate 60. *Earth-touching Buddha between Buddhas or Saints.*

(a) A tiny rimless 'fig leaf' tablet, neatly carved, with beaded border all around. The lotus stem at the base supports the bulb-fronted seat on which the ETB sits. Round pillars with torus and capital support the abacus and low trefoil arch over him. It is crowned with śikhara, stupa-finial and

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streamers. Tendrils from the same lotus wind outwards to form seats for small Buddhas (?), seated perhaps in *namaskāra mudrā*. (If so, the scene is the Twin Miracle). Streamers hanging from the capitals (?) part them from the central Buddha. Above the small Buddhas is a medium-sized stupa on either side, and sprays of peepal leaf. No markings. Bought at Pagán. Exact provenance unknown.
Height 1¾ in. Max. breadth 1⅜ in.

(b) Rimless tablet, squared below, arched above. Beaded border at sides, but not below. The central ETB, with large almond eyes, flame-uṣṇīṣa, and beaded shoulder-nimbus, sits on double lotus between pellet pillars. Above him is a beaded trefoil abacus-arch, crowned with square śikhara, bead-edged and foliated, and stupa-finial with streamers. At the bottom corners, on lotus stools, half-sit two small haloed saints in *namaskāramudrā*, turned towards the Buddha but facing front. Above them in tiers are 2 bell-like stupas on either side, parted from the śikhara-arch by a branch of peepal leaves, with raying star (or sun) above. At the base of this elegant tablet there is a line of Old Mon, not easy to read: –

wo kyā(k) s.. s.. s.. ma....

"This is the Buddha (of)...." The marking reads: "88. From mound near the large brick building (Ôktaikgyi) E. of Myinpagan (1926)".
Height 4 in. Breadth at base 2¾ in.

(c) Small rimless tablet squared below, arching to a point above. Marked I 111, from Pagán. The lotus stem at the base, not only supports the bulbous lotus mat on which the ETB sits, but branches around the bottom corners to form stools on which kneel two small saints in profile, facing the Buddha in *namaskāramudrā*. Above the pellet pillars and abacus, a wriggling arch supports the horizontal lines of a large stupa (or śikhara-stupa ?) tapering to the peak. Above the saints, on either side, is a medium-sized stupa and peepal-branches. Beaded stars above the Buddha's shoulders. – Weak, and perhaps late work. Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 74 and p. 54, from Sagaing Htupayôn.
Height 2¼ in. Breadth at base 1⅝ in.

(d, e) 2 broken tablets, both marked I 247, from a mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo. The lower half of squared tablets, finely made, with beaded border at the sides. They show a large central ETB seated on double lotus between strong turned pillars with abacus. On either side, on sprouting lotus, sits a small ETB with beaded shoulder-nimbus and bead frame. The peepal leaves visible above suggest that there were no more than 3 figures on the tablets. If so, the scene is that of the Twin Miracle. Below the lotus seats are 2 lines of writing in high relief, Mon script. The upper line is Pali, the lower Old Mon: –

eso bhagavā vim(u)t(t)at(thāya) mayā gatā |wo ky(e)k lati(ṅssa) ma lā (22) tṅey ‖

"This Blessed One was made by me with the object of Deliverance". "This is the Buddha stamped (?) by Lati.....days".
Breadth at base 3½ in.

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Plates 61 to 63. FIVE EARTH-TOUCHING BUDDHAS.

Plate 61. *Between Stupas* (*Muggaliputta*). *Sakaladharmadāyakā.*

Text, p. 99.

(a, b) Pointed oval tablets, marked I 192, from Chitsagôn, E. of the Nanda (1926). The lower half of (a) is lost, and the upper row of (b) is incomplete. Putting the two together, I estimate the height as about 5 in., the max. breadth 3½ in. The 5 Buddhas are of equal size, and sit in 3 rows, alternating with stupas: – top row, 1 Buddha between 2 stupas; 2nd and 3rd rows, 3 stupas with 2 Buddhas between them. Each Buddha sits on a studded mat, and has a beaded shoulder-nimbus. The 2 central stupas are rather larger than the side ones. Each stupa is bell-shaped, with beaded band near the bottom; and above the bell, a *harmikā*, 3 *chattrāvalī*, bulbous finial and streamers. Leafy sprays fill in the gaps. There is a beaded border, but no rims. At the base are 3 lines of Nāgarī in high relief. For (b) – see *Neg.* 2715 (1926–27). Mon Bo Kay reads the Nāgarī as follows: –

oṁ ye dhammā hetuprabhavā hetuṁ teṣa(ṁ) tathāga-| to hyavada teṣañca yo nirodha e| va(ṁ)vādī mahāśramanaḥ ||

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 48 (a) and pp. 37–38.

(c) Incomplete Pali inscription on the Reverse of (a), which we may complete from the Reverse of (b), not shown. It is the same as the one at Pl. 59 (d, f) on tablets found S.W. of Htilominlo: –

‖ muggaliputtācariye|na māpītaṁ idaṁ buddharūpaṁ ‖

"This image of the Buddha was created by the Teacher *Muggaliputta*".

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 48 (b).

(d) *Neg.* 3111 (1928–29).

Another elegant rimless tablet, squared below, arched at the top, with beaded border except at the base. It comes from the E. mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo. At the base there is a line of Mon/Pali in high relief: –

wo' sakaladharmadāyakā

"This is the donor of all the *Dharma*" – presumably the Buddha.

He sits in the centre on double lotus between pellet pillars, which support abacus, richly beaded trefoil arch, square bead-edged and foliated śikhara, stupa-finial and streamers. On either side 2 small Buddhas in tiers, with beaded shoulder-nimbus, sit on lotus-seats. Immediately above them is a stupa, and another stupa beside the stupa-finial – 4 altogether. Between the stupas, a branch of the peepal tree, with leaves.

(e) Rimmed votive tablet found in the recent high-level excavations at Paunggu cliff above the Irawady N. of Myinkaba. Squared at the base, arching to a point at the top. Shows the Earth-touching Buddha seated on double lotus pedestal, between pillars supporting trefoil arch and tall slim śikhara with stupa finial and streamers. Beside him, in two tiers, are 4 other Earth-touching Buddhas, each with beaded nimbus and seated on double lotus. There are peepal leaves and two stupas, one on each side of the śikhara. Below the pedestal are 2 rather faint lines of Old Mon, with (possibly) another line on the lower rim: –

| wo' kyāk [suṁ]beṅ | (tre...ma)ka(wāda ‖ bu)ddha...

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"This is the Buddha of the *sumbeṅ* ('thanbyin')..... ....."
Cf. *Neg.* 00149 a (1961–62).
Height $5\frac{2}{5}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{5}$ in. Thickness $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. All 5 Buddhas have elongated arms and torsoes.
Phot. Tin Oo.

Plate 62. *Matrārājikār. Mon writings on rims.*

Ref. A.S.I. 1927, pp. 168–9, 219–220 (cf. *A.S.B.* 1922, pp. 11–12 and 44, Nos. 3–7).

(a) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 98, pp. 65–66.
Height 5 in. Breadth at base 3 in.

Thick rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border on each side of the plaque proper, not along the base. Many such tablets were found in 1926 E. of Mingalazedi. The central Buddha is short and soft compared to the Aniruddha type. His large head has a flame-tipped uṣṇīṣa and beaded shoulder-nimbus. He sits on double lotus between weak colonnettes, which support a large abacus, laddered trefoil arch (the side-lobes almost lost), high umbrella-pole and short streamers. There is no śikhara. Sprays of peepal fill the rest of the peak. 4 small haloed ETBs, in 2 tiers, sit on double lotus at the sides, 2 above the abacus and 2 below it, with leafage between. At the base is a line of Mon writing in high relief: –

wo buddhamuni matrārājikā(r = kandaṁ)

"This Buddha-sage was made (?) by *Matrārājikār*". *Matrārājikār* should mean 'Governor of *Matrā*'. If this is not the Matrā of N.W. India, note that in Kyauksè, under Panan *kharuin*, there was a place *Matara* (*I.B.*, Pl. III 292[22]). Also *Matrā krī* 'Great *Matrā*' (Pl. II 153 a[18]). For the same inscription on a different kind of tablet, found a few yards N.E. of Myinkaba Kubyamkngè, see *A.S.B.* 1938, p. 7.

(b) Similar tablet, marked I 179, from the same site. Very thick coarse rims.
Height $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{1}{16}$ in. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(c) Similar thick-rimmed tablet from the same site, with 1 line of Mon/Burmese engraved on the face of the bottom rim: –

‖ wo' kyāk ṅā chūm

"This is Ṅā Chūm's Buddha". *Ṅā Chūm* ('Mr. Superlative') is a Burmese name.

(d) Similar tablet, marked "I 12, E. of Mingalazedi", has a line of Old Mon engraved all around the face of the rim, starting from the bottom left corner: –

‖ o ‖ wo' kyāk (ta)ryaḥ (mān) ‖ 'ut mānus lok devalok or blaḥ (nor saṅsār) prakā(r)....lin

"This is the Buddha of Judge Mān (?). May all the world of men and the world of Devas be released (from Samsāra)....."

(e) 2 fragments of a similar tablet, with top lost. Here too there is a broken line of faint writing around the rim which I cannot read.

(f) Another thick-rimmed fragment from the base of a similar tablet marked I 12, with 3 lines of Old Mon (?) faintly engraved on the face of the bottom rim, and a few letters on the left side also. Not understood.

Plate 63. *Matrārājikār cont. Writings on Reverses. Pegu tablets.*

(a) Reverse of similar tablet, marked "6. I 228. From E. of Mingalazedi, Pagan (1926)", stone-like in weight. 3 lines of Pali in Mon script: –

‖ eso bhagavā rājā |puttabhiriyā hatthathā |yevā ti ‖

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"This Blessed One (was made) by hand by the wife of Rājāputta (the Prince)".
Height $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(b) Reverse of similar tablet with coarse rims, marked "A. 5. I 179", with lines of Old Mon: –
‖ wo' at [*or* arta] mi la'

(c) Similar tablet with thick deep rims, stored in the West *gandhakuṭī* museum on the platform of Shwémawdaw pagoda, Pegu (No. 99). Reading of the line at the base of the Obverse as at Pl. 62 a, *supra*.
Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{10}$ in.

(d) A different small tablet, badly worn, also at Pegu Shwemawdaw museum (No. 98), showing 5 ETBs. The tablet is rimless and squared, arching to a low point at the top. There is no inscription at the base, but a lotus stem rising in the middle and branching to the sides (as in Pl. 60 c), supporting both the double lotus of the central Buddha, and also those of the lower tier of side-Buddhas. The central archway has rounded pillars, abacus, arch perhaps trefoil (but the side lobes have almost disappeared), śikhara, stupa-finial and streamers. Peepal sprays branch out between the arch and the upper tier of haloed Buddhas. Peepal leaves and abacus divide the upper tier from the lower.
Phot. San Win.
Height $3\frac{7}{10}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Plate 64. TEN OR FIFTEEN EARTH-TOUCHING BUDDHAS.

Plate 64. 10 *Buddhas between stupas. Yasa's tablet.* 15 *Buddhas* (*Pegu, Pagán*).
Text, pp. 98–100.

(a) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 101 and p. 68.
Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base 3 in.

Tablet, now rimless, squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border at sides up to peak, not at base. Marked I 236 (1926–27), from a mound in Aung Hla's field near S. side of Htilominlo. Shows 3 rows of Buddhas, all of one size, alternating with stupas: – top row, 2 Buddhas with stupa between and a leaning stupa at either end of the row; 2nd and 3rd rows, 4 Buddhas with 3 stupas between – 10 Buddhas and 9 stupas altogether. At the bottom a line of minute writing in high relief. Each Buddha has a beaded shoulder-nimbus. Above the middle row are fig leaves, above the lowest row Wheels (?). Each stupa, with its streamers, is at shoulder-height between the Buddhas, with a star pattern below it.

(b) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 100 and p. 68.
Ref. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, pp. 185–6, and Part II, Pl. CV (c). Cf. *ASI* 1906, Pl. LIII, fig. 3, and p. 133.
Height 6 in. Breadth at base $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Tablet with deep rims, squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border at sides up to peak. The tablet is marked I 118 (1931–32), and comes from a small ruined temple in a corner of

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San Sha's field S.E. of U Kywet's monastery at the S. end of Myinpagán. The ETBs, all roughly of one size, are in 3 rows: 3 in the top and middle rows, 4 in the bottom row: total 10. Each Buddha sits on lotus mat, in a trefoil arch resting on pellet pillars. There is a halo of curling leaf to every arch. Sprays of fig leaves wander up the sides. At the base there is 1 line, half Mon half Pali, in Mon script: –

wo kye(k) ya(s)a kl(o) sahatthenevā ti

"This Buddha, Yasa (?) made (?) it, with his own hands". *klo*, if rightly read, appears to stand for *kloñ*.

(c) Lower fragment, rimless, of similar tablet now at Mandalay Arch. Office. This shows more clearly the line of writing at the base.

(d) A similar tablet, also marked I 118 (1931–32), has 2 lines of Old Mon writing on the underrim: –

sambeṅ goh ma lāt ‖

"Stamped by the *sambeṅ*".

Ref. ASI 1930–34, Part I, p. 186. Probably the *sambeṅ Yasa* was the same as the Prince *Yas* of Pl. 23 (c, d, e), and "the *sambeṅ* Prince Yassa, the king's favourite" of Pl. 38 (a, b).

(e) Phot. San Win.

Height $2\frac{2}{5}$ in. Breadth $2\frac{3}{10}$ in.

Small squared tablet, arching to a point at the top, now in the West *gandhakuṭī* museum on the platform of Shwémawdaw pagoda, Pegu (No. 112). Badly worn. Shows 15 ETBs: 3 rows of 5, all of equal size, each within a thin frame of abacus-posts and round halo-arches. Base and apex bare.

(f) One of 4 similar tablets, marked I 360, found at Pagán in 1926. Sprays of peepal in the apex. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth 3 in.

Note. For other 15 Buddha tablets, see U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 205 ("Finds at Yegyi-Yenauk, Bassein"), and Part II, Pl. CXVII (c – middle plaque in upper row). Here the arrangement is different: 4 rows, with 3 Buddhas in the top row, and 4 in the 3 lower ones. U Mya attributes these "to the later part of the Pagán period".

Plates 65 to 67. "TWENTY EIGHT" (AṬṬHAVĪSATI) EARTH-TOUCHING BUDDHAS.

Plate 65. *Tablets of the Law-sambeṅ and the sambeṅ Pintū.*

Text, p. 99.

Note. Counted from Taṇhaṅkara to Gotama, there are 28 Buddhas. But on these tablets the number of figures may be 28, 29, 30 or 31. The Buddhas are always shown in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, the Earth-touching attitude. Sometimes they are all of one size; sometimes the smaller figures are grouped around one (or more) larger figures. In Aniruddha's seals (Pls. 10, 11 *supra*), a Bodhisattva is added on either side of the large central Buddha, making the total number of figures 31. Bodhisattvas do not recur in the post-Kyanzittha groups here shown.

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(a) Rimmed tablet squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border at sides up to peak. There are 6 rows of Buddhas: top row 3, with a small stupa at either end; 2nd, 3rd and 6th (bottom) rows, 6 Buddhas each; 4th and 5th rows, 4 Buddhas each, with large Buddha in the centre – total 30. The central Buddha sits in pellet-pillar frame, with abacus, beaded trefoil arch, and umbrella. Peepal branches behind. The other Buddhas have merely double lotus seat, and beaded shoulder-nimbus and frame. At the foot is 1 line of Pali in Mon script: –
aṭhavīsati me buddhā triyyā saṁbeṅgena katā buddhat(th)āya "The 28 Buddhas were made by me, the Law-*saṁbeṅ* (Judge), with the object of (attaining) Buddhahood".
Height 7½ in. Breadth at base 5½ in.

This tablet, now at Mandalay Arch. Office, has no markings. Tablets of the same size, with the same inscription on the Obverse, were found by Lu Pe Win at Lémyet-hna pagoda, Yindaw, 7 miles S. of Shwébo: see *ASB* 1941, p. 25. Another specimen is stuck up on the modern W. portico of the Nanda temple, Pagán (S. side, W. end). A partly gilded specimen, now at Mandalay Arch. Office, is marked "Found in 1955–56 in a ruined pagoda near Shweguncha pagoda" (Taungbi, N.E. of Pagán city). Several other Pagán specimens (see *infra*) are marked I 221. See *ASB* 1938, p. 6, item 5, for a specimen found "a few yards W. of the Gawdawpallin temple."

(b) Reverse of a specimen marked "I 221.K I", with 7 lines of Pali inscription in Mon script: –
‖ aṭhāvisati me buddha |ropā taryyā sambeṅ dāna |pati katā raño ca mātā |ca pitaro ca | saput-taddhita |ro bhiriyā ca | sabbasattahī |tatthāya kato | buddha lo |ke ca anāgate ti ‖
"This 28 Buddha-image was made by me the donor, the Law-*sambeṅ*. It is made for the sake of benefitting the king, mother, father, together with sons, daughters, wives, and all living beings. (May I be) a Buddha in (this) world or the world to come!"

(c) A complete gilded specimen is said to come from a ruined pagoda near Shweguncha pagoda, Pagán (1955–56). Now at Mandalay Arch. Office. The Reverse has 8 lines of Pali in Mon script: –
(aṭhā)vīsati me | buddhā(bimba)kārī triyā |sambeṅ dānapati katā rā |ño ca mātucca puñatthāya| pitussa ca iminā puñaka |mmena bhavadukkhappamānato |sabbasatte pamocetuṁ bu |ddho homi anāgate ‖
"The maker of the 28-Buddha-image – I, the donor, the Law-*sambeṅ*, made them for the sake of the merit of king, mother and father. By means of this meritorious work, may all living beings be freed from the immeasurable evils of existence! May I be a Buddha hereafter!"
U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 44 (a, b), and pp. 32–33.

(d) Lower half of a similar tablet belonging to the Burma Research Society, Rangoon. The fragmentary Obverse shows clearly the line of Pali at the base, the 6 Buddhas of the bottom row, the 4 of the row above it, and the central Buddha, with parts of 2 rows above.
Neg. 1304 (1913–14).

(e) The Reverse of (d), showing 6 lines of the Pali inscription, incomplete at the top, and down most of the right edge, but reading as in (c) *supra*.
Neg. 1305 (1913–14).
Ref. U Mya, "Our Museum", *JBRS* Vol. IV, pp. 219–224, and Pl. IV, Fig. 1 (a, b). Includes Duroiselle's notes and readings on pp. 222–4: "A fragment of a votive brick, broken diagonally, 5 in. × 4½ in."

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(f) The Reverse of a similar fragmentary tablet, marked "I 221, K = 8", with 4 incomplete lines of Pali in Mon script: –

‖ sambeṅ = pintū ti nā |mena rājamattena..ñu |..aṭhāvīsati buddhānaṁ kā |....i.....

"By the king's minister named *sambeṅ* Pintū (was made this image) of the 28 Buddhas....."

Plate 66. *Tablets at Pegu, Hsameikshé, Pagán, Myoma, etc.*

(a) Rimless tablet squared at base; arching to a point at top. Provenance unknown. Now at Rangoon University Library. Border-beading at both sides up to peak. 5 rows of ETBs., all of one size: top row 3, with sprays of trees branching out behind, and a lotus flower sprouting at either end; 2nd row, 6 Buddhas; 3rd, 4th and 5th row, each 7 Buddhas. Total 30. Each Buddha sits on double lotus within bead-frame and abacus and shoulder-nimbus. At the base is 1 faint line of Old Mon: –

....triley..(28 kye)k li.....

Height 5 in. Breadth at base 3½ in. Thickness ½ in.

Phot. Tin Oo.

(b) Detail of last row of Buddhas and the line of Mon.

Phot. Tin Oo.

(c) Rimmed tablet, with rims broken at top and right side, slightly cutting the bottom right corner. Squared at base, arching to a point at top. Frame-line all around. Bodhi tree with branches and leaves in centre of top line up to peak. A Buddha on each side of the tree; and a stupa (with *harmikā*) and a Wheel (pellet with 8 beads around it) at either end. Below, there are 4 rows with 7 Buddhas in each. Total 30 ETBs, all of one size. Each sits between posts supporting a pointed 'Saracenic' arch, with a small stupa to right and left between the arches.

Now at Mandalay Arch. Office. No markings.

Height about 6 in. Breadth about 4½ in.

(d) Rimmed tablet (No. 102) in West *gandhakuṭī* museum on platform of Pegu Shwémawdaw pagoda. Squared below, arching to a point at top. Beaded border at sides. Badly worn. 5 rows of ETBs, with one large Buddha in centre of 3rd and 4th rows. He is seated between pillars with abacus, trefoil arch, and umbrella, the square filled in with streamers at top and leafy sprays at the sides. The other Buddhas are all of one size: – top row, 5; 2nd row, 7; 3rd and 4th rows, 4; lowest row, 7. Total 28. There is a little stupa above the shoulders between each.

Height 6⅜ in. Breadth at base 4 3/10 in. Thickness 3/10 in.

(e) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 72 and p. 53.

Ref. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1920, p. 24.

Height 6 in. Breadth 4 in.

Rimmed tablet, marked XVI 4, now in Mandalay Arch. Office. Found in 1919–20 at Hsameikshé village near Thazi, Meiktila district. Squared on 3 sides, rising to a point at the top. Beaded border except at bottom, 6 rows of seated Buddhas; the largest in the centre of 4th and 5th row, seated on double lotus, between colonnettes with torus and capital, supporting a round ribbed arch with rays and stupa-finial. The single Buddha in the top row is similar but smaller. He is

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flanked on either side by 2 stupas, medium and small. The other Buddhas are all of one size, set in round-arched, shouldered frames. Top row: 1 Buddha; 2nd row, 6; 3rd row, 6; 4th and 5th rows, 4 each, with central Buddha; 6th row, 6. Total 28. At the base is 1 line of Old Burmese in high relief: –

|| ṅā kā nirāpan liw so te

"As for me, I want Nirvana!"

(f) Fragment from the bottom right corner of a finely carved thick-rimmed tablet, marked I 224, found (1928–29) in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo. It shows a large central Buddha (headless) seated on leather mat and double lotus, touching Earth, between strong pillars with torus, capital and abacus. He sits doubtless in the centre (the left side is lost) of the bottom row of 2 or more rows of small ETBs, each with 'flame' uṣṇīṣa, seated on mat in a beaded frame with abacus, under a round halo-arch. Beaded border at the sides. Below, there is a line of Pali in Mon script: –

. . . . (t)i me buddhā rāja isvare nama

If we restore the first word (probably enough) as *aṭhavīsati*, we may translate: – "The 28 Buddhas (were made) by me. Honour to the Royal Lord"! Note the Pali/Mon letters between the heads of the Buddhas.

Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 110 and pp. 72–73, where a specimen is shown almost complete except for the bottom left corner.

Height, when complete, said to be 8 in; breadth at base 5½ in.

(g) *Neg.* 4513 (1940–41).

Ref. ASB 1941, Pl. III d and pp. 24–25.

Bottom right corner of a tablet – one of 8 varieties – found (1940) in the débris of Shwésaryan pagoda, on the bank of the North Nawin Chaung, Myoma village, some 20 miles by road N. of Old Prome. It shows 5 ETBs in high relief in a row – the lowest row, with others probably above. At the base is a line of Archaic Burmese, read by Lu Pe Win: –

santi nirbān luiw sū plū kra sūte

"Those who want the peace of Nirvāṇa have made (this plaque)".

Plate 67. 28 *Buddhas, each with 2 attendant Saints.*

Text, p. 131.

(a) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 108 and p. 71.

Height 10½ in. Breadth 7⅔ in.

Phot. Tin Oo.

Large rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Beaded border at sides, not at base. The tablet was obtained at Pagán (exact provenance unknown), and is now in Rangoon University Library. It presents the 28 Buddhas, all of one size, each seated on double lotus, touching Earth, in a round nimbus-shouldered archway. Each Buddha has, attendant on either side of him, a small Saint seated crosslegged on double lotus, hands in *namaskāra mudrā*. There are stupas above the heads of the Saints between the Buddhas. Above the central Buddha in the top row, there is an umbrella with pole, 4 fig-leaves, 2 stupas above between the Buddhas, and 2

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stupas at the ends of the row. Thus the top row has 3 Buddhas, 6 saints, 2 stupas above and 2 at the ends. The 2nd row has 5 Buddhas and 10 Saints with 4 stupas above. The 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th rows have each 5 Buddhas and 10 Saints, with 6 stupas above. Total 28 Buddhas, 56 saints, and 32 stupas. At the base there is 1 line in Mon script and (perhaps) Old Burmese language; but the reading suggested below is quite doubtful, and the sense obscure: –

. . . . (m)rāy rwoṅ phurhā ph(l)e(c) liw pu(rāh) ivvaṁ īy phur(h)ā ta (nch)ip phlec so 78(8) . .

Possibly the word at the beginning is *saṁmbeṅ*. If so, it is probably followed by the name of the donor *Mrāy rwoṅ*, who apparently wants to become a Buddha (but *phlec* looks more like *phleṅ*). Perhaps he concludes by mentioning the number of impressions he has made from "this Buddha-seal". – All very doubtful.

(b) Detail of the final row, including the line of inscription.
Phot. Tin Oo.

(c, d) A similar tablet in two fragments, now at Mandalay Arch. Office. Also detail of the final row and line of inscription. No markings. Found at Pagán. There is also in the Office a fragment (not shewn here) from the bottom left corner of a similar tablet, without markings.

Plate 68. FORTY (ĀNANDA), FIFTY, SEVENTY, A HUNDRED EARTH-TOUCHING BUDDHAS
Text, p. 99.

(a) A rimmed tablet squared below, arching to a point above. Now in 4 fragments. Found in 1955–56 by Htwe Sein in a ruined pagoda N.E. of Upali Thein, Pagán, together with the broken Eight Scene tablet shown at Pl. 74 (a, b), an *andagu* stone slab of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 404), and the bronze lotus shown at Pl. 426 *infra*.

The tablet shows 40 and more ETBs in 6 rows. It is not easy to say what the original number was, for at least 3 small or minute ones have been added along the left edge, and probably also along the right edge, now worn smooth. The top row has 3 normal-sized Buddhas, and 2 smaller ones (probably original) at the sides. The 2nd row has 5 of normal size, and 2 much smaller at the ends. The 4 remaining rows have each 7 of normal size, with minute ones added at the edges of the 3 lowest rows. Total 40 + 6 added (?). Each Buddha sits on double lotus in beaded frame with shouldered nimbus. There is a small stupa to left and right of each nimbus. Beaded border at the sides. At the base there is a faint line (and a half ?) of high relief writing in Mon script. – Obverse. Height $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. Thickness $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

(b) 2 lines of Pali inscription in Mon script on the Reverse of (a): –

|| ānaṇḍattherena kataṁ rūpaṁ |tena buddho homi || o ||

"(This) image was made by the *thera Ānanda*. Through it, may I become a Buddha!" Cf. Pl. 74 (b).

(c) Thin rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point at the top. Right side and top badly worn. Beaded border at the sides. The tablet is marked "29" in Burmese; provenance unknown. There are 8 rows of seated Buddhas, with a large one under a śikhara-arch in the centre of Rows 3, 4 and 5. Each of these rows has also 6 smaller Buddhas, 3 on each side of the large one. The 3 lowest rows have 8 Buddhas each. The 2nd row from the top may have 6, the top row 2 with stupas at either end. Total 51. But there is some doubt about the upper rows owing to the weathering of the surface. There seems to be a line of writing (in Mon script ?) at the base in high relief.

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Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Thickness $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Note. Col. Ba Shin reports the finding of similar 51 Buddha plaques under débris in Myébôntha Payahla temple, Pagán. "A few of them are intact, and many in fragments. The line at the base is Old Burmese: –

|| ṅā gā nirāpan chu |(kui) luiw so te

"As for me, I want the boon of Nirvāṇa".

Height 5 in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

(d) Thin rimmed square tablet arching to a point at the top. There are 2 specimens at Mandalay Arch. Office, classed as 'Miscellaneous', provenance not stated. They appear to be identical with tablets excavated by Lu Pe Win at Tadágalé near Rangoon: see *ASB* 1939, Pl. I (c) and p. 6. Each shows 9 rows of tiny seated Buddhas, touching Earth within faintly lined arches. Top row 3, 2nd row 7, 3rd to 9th row 9 each. Total 73 Buddhas.

Height 4 in. Breadth $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

(e) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 109 and p. 72.

Height $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Large rimmed tablet, squared, but arching to a point at the top. No inscription nor modern marking. Now at Mandalay Arch. Office. Shows 10 rows of seated Buddhas, all of one size: top row 3, with stupa and inward-facing lion at either end. 2nd row 9, with small stupa at either end. 3rd to 10th row, 11 in each. Total 100 Buddhas. Each Buddha has a double-line nimbus.

(f) U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 107 and p. 71.

Height $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Tall rimmed tablet, squared at base, arching steeply to a point at the top. No mark of provenance. Now at Mandalay Arch. Office. At the peak there is a small stupa. Below it, 11 rows of seated Buddhas, all of one size: top row 4, with stupa at either end. 2nd row 6, with stupa at either end. 3rd to 11th row: 10 in each. Total: 100 Buddhas. Each Buddha has a single line nimbus. At the base there is a faint line in Mon script.

Plates 69 to 74. THE EIGHT SCENES (AṬṬHAṬṬHĀNA).

Text, pp. 148–153.

Plate 69.

(a, b) *Channa, Kanthaka, etc.*

2 specimens of a small deep-rimmed tablet, (a) without marks, (b) marked "I 103" on the back. Both probably come "from a ruined shrine E. of the Mingalazedi, N. of Myinkaba village". The tablet is squared on three sides, and brought to a point at the top. In the centre is the Earth-touching Buddha in abacus-arch, with stupa and umbrella above him and bare branches. His double lotus throne is supported below by a crouching elephant facing front, and 2 *vyālas* facing outwards. There are 2 small stupas in the bottom corners; and between these and the *vyālas* kneels Channa the groom on the left, stands Kanthaka the faithful horse on the right. Above these, the Eight Scenes are arranged as shown: –

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Umbrella

Stupa

(mourner) PARINIRVĀṆA (mourner)

Umbrella

STANDING BUDDHA (attendant)	EARTH-	STANDING BUDDHA (attendant)
(saint) SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakramudrā* ?)	TOUCHING	SEATED BUDDHA (a figure) (*dharmacakra mudrā*)
NATIVITY	BUDDHA	PĀRILEYYAKA RETREAT (*pralambanâsana*) (monkey ?)

Mahāmāyā with right arm lifted suffices for the Nativity. The Buddha seated in *pralambanâsana*, facing front, with almsbowl, represents the Pārileyyaka scene, with the monkey (?) on the outer side. In the Parnirvāṇa the mourner at the head kneels, raising his right arm; the one on the right stands massaging the feet (?).
Height 4 in. Breadth $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(c, d) 2 specimens of a very small rimless tablet, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad. No marks. Squared on three sides, coming to a high point at the top. Probably had a beaded border. Both specimens damaged, especially at the bottom. In the centre sits the Earth-touching Buddha on double lotus under trefoil abacus-arch, with śikhara, stupa-finial, streamers and peepal sprays. A stupa on each side of the finial. Below the lotus seat is the growing stem on which it rests, with a seated or kneeling figure on each side. The Eight Scenes are arranged as shown: –

STUPA
(with streamers)

(mourner) PARINIRVĀṆA (mourner)

STANDING BUDDHA (stupa) under umbrella (Descent front Tāvatiṁsa)	EARTH-	(stupa) STANDING BUDDHA small figure (Nālāgiri elephant)
SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakramudrā*)	TOUCHING	SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakramudrā*)
NATIVITY (Māyā raising right arm to tree)	BUDDHA	PĀRILEYYAKA RETREAT (facing front, with almsbowl)

(e) Small rimless tablet (height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.), squared on three sides, arching at the top. No marks. All badly weathered. In the centre, the stem (or stems) of the lotus throne seem to rise from the head of a crouching elephant (?), flanked (perhaps) by *vyālas* or praying figures. The Buddha sits in colonetted archway. Above the abacus, 3 horizontal roofs and short śikhara recede behind, with peepal branches. The Eight Scenes are arranged as shown: –

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(mourner) PARINIRVĀNA (mourner)

3 roofs and śikhara

STANDING BUDDHA	EARTH-	STANDING BUDDHA
SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakra mudrā*)	TOUCHING	SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakra mudrā*)
NATIVITY (with tree)	BUDDHA (high lotus throne) (crouching elephant?)	PĀRILEYYAKA RETREAT (*prabambanâsana* ?)

(f) Upper part of a finely carved little tablet, rimless, broken from the central Buddha's waist downwards. It was probably squared at the base; it arches steeply to a pointed top. What remains is $2\frac{1}{2}+$ in. high and 2 in. broad. It is a Pagán tablet, marked I 355. The central Buddha (probably touching Earth) sits between turned pillars supporting a strong trefoil arch, under umbrella and peepal sprays. The lowest tier of scenes is lost. The middle tier has a Buddha on each side seated crosslegged in *dharmacakra mudrā* in shouldered-nimbus frame. The upper tier has 2 standing Buddhas facing half-inwards: the Nālāgiri elephant scene on the left – the Buddha between two monks, with right hand raised before the body, and left hand hanging (possibly stroking the trunk of the elephant prostrate at his feet ?); the Descent from Tāvatiṁsa on the right, the Buddha between Indra and Brahmā (perhaps also Sāriputta kneeling to welcome him ?). In the apex is the Parinirvāṇa – the Buddha lying, head to the left, on beaded couch with beaded halo, his right hand propping his head, his left hand stretched along the body. Ānanda is at his feet, another mourner at his head. 3 (or 5 ?) poles support umbrellas high above the bier with 3 figures (or stupas ?) between them. At the corners below the bier sit or kneel two figures on either side, with hands raised.

Plate 70. *Pagán Shwéhsandaw and Śrī Kṣetra. 9th scene* (? *Sujātā*). *Sha-htôk fragment.*

(a) Two broken tablets, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office, both marked "I 112", and found at Shwéhsandaw pagoda, Pagán. Both have lost their lowest tier of scenes. The larger tablet, here shewn, is $4\frac{3}{4}+$ in. high by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad. It was originally squared below and arching to a peak above, with beaded border at the sides. In the centre the Earth-touching Buddha sits on double lotus, between pellet pillars supporting abacus, round beaded arch, bead-edged floral śikhara, *āmalaka* finial and flying streamers. Peepal sprays behind. Of the lowest tier, only the Buddha's head in halo-arch is visible on the left. The two Buddhas of the middle tier sit crosslegged on double lotus in *dharmacakramudrā*, indistinguishable, within their shoulder-nimbus. The two short standing Buddhas of the upper tier may be distinguished. Both droop their right arm, probably in *varada mudrā*, and raise their left before the breast; but under the drooped hand on the left is the Nālāgiri elephant; under that on the right, the kneeling Sāriputta. No other figures are in attendance. At the top, head to left, the dying Master lies alone on beaded couch, his right hand on the pillow under his cheek his left stretched along the body. Behind him is a stupa between umbrella and flowers.

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This plaque is a precious link between Pagán and Śrī Kṣetra, where very few fragments of the Eight Scenes have yet been traced. General de Beylié found, in the Lémyet-hna temple there, the top part of a tablet exactly like this one: see his *L'Architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1907), p. 245, fig. 198; *Prome et Samara*, Planche V, fig. 2. A better preserved specimen from Śrī Kṣetra, but still showing only the upper part of the tablet, is illustrated by Taw Sein Ko at *ASI* 1910, Pl. XLIX, fig. 7. In a footnote he says: "In 1906 a complete specimen from the same die was found".

(b, c) Two fragmentary tablets found in the East Zégu temple at Śrī Kṣetra, and now at Mandalay Archaeological Office, which appear to come from the same die as the Pagán tablet, and enable us to complete it. (b) adds little but clarity to the picture. (c) shows the lowest row. Here the Pārileyyaka scene is on the left, and the Nativity on the right, and an extra scene is added in the centre – probably Sujātā's offering of milk-rice. The Pārileyyaka is shown by the Buddha's attitude: *pralambanâsana*, almsbowl in lap. The Monkey is also shown on his tree between this and the centre panel. In the Nativity scene Māyā raises her right hand to hold the *śāla* bough, embraces Pajāpatī's neck with her left arm, and kicks the (unseen) tree with her left heel (a fertility-symbol for Yakṣinīs in Indian art). The figure standing between Māyā and the centre panel is not, I think, the Babe taking his Seven Steps, but Sujātā, with hands in *namaskāra mudrā*, approaching the Buddha.

(d) A complete specimen, except for broken rims, has recently been found at Śrī Kṣetra, some 300 yards W. of the Lémyet-hna. It is now (Col. Ba Shin tells me) in Shwe-hpôn-pwin' pagoda library and museum, Prome town. It measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $4\frac{2}{5}$ in. broad at the base, and $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. thick.

(e) A large thick tablet with deep rims, especially at the bottom. Marked "I 375 (1936–37). Found in Hpo Saw's field, S. of the Pawdawmu, S. of Myinkaba", Pagán. All the main figures are in high relief, some almost in the round. These contrast (effectively, as in Old Mon sculpture at Pegu) with flat 'lacework' patterning and panelling of the background. As on the preceding tablet, 9 scenes instead of 8 are shewn, an extra one being added in the centre of the lowest tier. But here the arrangement is different: –

Stūpa
(with streamers)

(mourner) PARINIRVĀṆA (mourner)

(foliations)	Āmalaka Stūpa	(foliations)
(sprays of peepal)	Śikhara	(sprays of peepal)
STANDING BUDDHA	EARTH-	STANDING BUDDHA (elephant?)
SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakra mudrā*, Wheel)	TOUCHING BUDDHA	SEATED BUDDHA (*dharmacakra mudrā*)
(Indra) NATIVITY (Babe) Māyā holding branch (Sujātā?)	SEATED BUDDHA (*varada mudrā*, bowl)	BUDDHA IN PRALAMBAN- (monkey) ÂSANA (bowl)

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Pajāpatī is missing from the Nativity. Māyā rests her left arm (with 4 bangles) on her thigh, and kicks the tree with her right heel. On the left, Indra is seen descending; and the Babe below is taking his first steps. In the centre Sujātā may possibly be seen in the inset panel on the left: the Buddha sits with almsbowl on left hand in the lap, and right hand on knee in *varada mudrā*. In the beaded panel between centre and right scenes, the elegant Monkey is seen approaching with his honeycomb. In the middle tier the Seated Buddha on the left has the Wheel on his pedestal: this fixes the scene as the First Sermon. The scene on the right, therefore, is the Great Miracle of Sāvatthi. Both Standing Buddhas droop their right hand (? in *varadamudrā*). The one on the right appears to have a figure crouched at his feet on the inner side: but I am not sure if it is Sāriputta or the Nālāgiri elephant. Several of the larger figures seem almost naked, as often in Andhra art. Note the beautiful tendril and leaf patterning around the āmalaka śikhara in the centre, and the wood-architecture panelling and decoration in the background of the lowest tier. Height 7½ in. Breadth at base 5½ in. Thickness at base 3 in. Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 50 and pp. 38–39.

(f) Bottom fragment of a similar tablet, marked on the back I 173, found at "Sha-htôk pagoda, W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda (1929–30)". Details of the lowest tier are clear. There may possilby be a line of Nāgarī (?) writing in high relief at the base. – Obverse.

(g) Reverse of (f), with the 2 final lines of an inscription in Old Mon: –

..... wo' or go' das | kyāk

"(As reward for) this (offering), may I be enabled to become a Buddha". Note that these words occur on the reverses of the Śrī Bisannarāc and Yāsodharāh tablets (e.g. Pl. 27 e, *supra*), found at the same pagoda.

Plate 71. *Mahāsālini.*

(a) The most perfect of the Eight Scene tablets yet found at Pagán. Recovered by U Mya from a ruined temple "in San Sha's field S.E. of U Kywet's monastery at the S. end of Myinpagán". Here were also found the tablets with 10 seated Buddhas (see Pl. 64 b) made by Yasa (?). The Eight Scene tablets, says U Mya, "are duplicates of those found at a small ruined stupa near the Mingalazedi ... mentioned in p. 169 of [*ASI*] 1926–27; but some among the present lot are in a better state of preservation ... and the Nagari legend much clearer" (see *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 186, and Part II, Pl. CV d). At the site near the Mingalazedi Duroiselle had found, not only the Eight Scene tablets, but also others with 31 figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (see Pl. 11, Note). These last were signed by Aniruddha; and this fact no doubt influenced his first reading of the 2 lines of Nāgarī under the Eight Scenes: – "The inscription, which is partly in Pali and partly in Sanskrit, contains the usual Buddhist creed *ye dhammā hetupabhavā* etc., followed by the words *dānapati śrī mahisyadevī*, ... "the chief queen is the giver". If my reading is correct, then from the style of the image, the characters of the inscription and the testimony of other tablets found at the same place and bearing the name of Aniruddhadeva, this lady must have been the queen of the great monarch" (*ASI* 1927, p. 169). U Mya shared this view in 1932 (*loc. cit.*), noting the "bold raised letters resembling very closely the type of letters used in one of king Anorahta's

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tablets" (see Pl. 6 a, b). But later he changed his mind, and now reads the name *Mahāsālini*. Mon Bo Kay reads the 2 lines as follows: –

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā hetu(ṁ) teṣā(ṁ) tathāgato hyavadat = teṣāñca yo | nirodha eva(ṁ)vādī mahāsramaṇah | dānapati śrī mahāsā(lini)

He points out to me that this very fine Nāgarī lettering only occurs on 3 Pagan tablets: (i) Aniruddha's single Buddha tablets found near the Seinnyet (Pl. 6 a, b); (ii) the heavily ornate Pwazaw tablets of Prince Śrī Vallabh = Yasa (Pl. 38 a, b, c); (iii) these Eight Scene tablets of Mahāsālini. – Was Mahāsālini yet another title of the *saṁbeṅ* Prince Yasa, the king's favourite?

Our tablet is squared below and arches to a point at the top. There is a beaded border at the sides. The scenes are arranged as follows: –

Brahmā with umbrella. Stupa.

PARINIRVĀṆA

(Worshipper) (Ānanda)

	Stupa	
TAMING OF NĀLĀGIRI	(āmalaka)	DESCENT FROM TĀVATIṀSA
(Monk with bowl) (elephant)	Śikhara	(Sāriputta kneeling) (Brahmā)
	(3 roofs)	
FIRST	EARTH-	YAMAKAPĀṬIHĀRIYA
(saint) SERMON (saint)		(Buddha) (Buddha)
	TOUCHING	
PĀRILEYYAKA RETREAT		NATIVITY
(pralambanâsana, sideways)	BUDDHA	(Babe) Māyā (Pajāpatī)
(elephant) (monkey)		

[2 lines of fine Nāgarī Credo]

8 small stupas are dotted up and down and across the tablet. Note the fine Nāgarī gloss on the right of the Pārileyyaka scene. Mon Bo Kay reads it: –

grahika vānarā "domesticated denizens of the forest".

In the peak Brahmā (?) holds the umbrella over the dying Master. A stupa is on a stand behind the feet. The firmness of the central Buddha, his spreading throne, strong arch and pillars, measured roofs and lofty śikhara above him, are in fine contrast with the varied and flowing poses of most of the other figures.

Height 6¼ in. Breadth at base 4¾ in.

Neg. 3432 (1931–32). Text, p. 153.

U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 13 (a, b) and pp. 16–17.

Ref. ASI 1915, Part I, Pl. XX (g) and p. 24. – This is the first showing of these tablets, but the find-spot at Pagán is not mentioned. *ASI* 1927, p. 169 (Duroiselle). *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 186, and Part II, Pl. CV (d) (U Mya).

(b) Detail of the 2 lines of fine square Nāgarī at the base of a similar rimmed tablet (broken at the top) from the same site. It is marked I 117 (1931–32). For Mon Bo Kay's reading, see *supra*.

(c) "Indian Museum, Calcutta. Negative No. 154/59. Locality Burma. Terracotta votive plaques 10316, 10317". – The tablet on the left is a rimmed variety of (a). The tablet on the right is one of Aniruddha's 5-figure tablets (cf. Pl. 8 a, b).

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Plates 72, 73. *Reverses with Old Mon inscriptions.*

All the tablets (mostly Reverses) shown on these two plates have Obverses showing the Eight Scenes after the 'Mahāsālini' model (Pl. 71). They appear to come from the site E. of Mingalazedi, opened by Duroiselle in 1922 and 1926 (see Pl. 71 a). The cursive writings on the Reverses are all probably in Old Mon, though some contain the Burmese title *maṅ* 'prince' (but see Pl. 72 d on this word). They generally appear to contain the names of donors. The writing is usually rough; and readings and translations given below are only provisional.

Plate 72.

(a) Lower right corner of a rimmed tablet (Obverse), showing part of the Nativity scene, and the 2 lines of Nāgarī at the base.

(b) The Reverse of (a), with 2 fragmentary lines of Mon (?): –

(. . . .) y(a) s . . . . lā ma lā . . .

"Stamped by Ya S . . . lā" (?).

(c) A Reverse marked I 222, "from a ruined shrine E. of Mingalazedi, N. of Myinkaba village". 3 lines of Mon: –

wo' tra' | ley kyāk (nā | b)i'ñju'

"This is our Lord the Buddha of Nābi'ñju'" (?).

Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{11}{16}$ in. Thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(d) Another Reverse marked I 222, from the same site. 3 lines: –

māṅ cum | kow cāh | dho'

The donor appears to have had an Old Burmese title *māṅ cum*, 'Prince Perfect'.

(e) A Reverse marked *Ja*. 3 lines: –

pay (mo)m | kon saṅ (. .) | ghāy ma (kṣe)t

"Impressed (? Mod. Mon *khyat*) by Pay (Mo)m, daughter of Saṅghāy".

Height $6\frac{3}{16}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Thickness 1 in.

(f) A Reverse marked "*Ja* I 4 (1926). E. of Mingalazedi", slightly damaged at top left shoulder. 2 lines: –

(wo') pāh | lāh "This (?) is Pāh Lāh".

Height $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Thickness $\frac{15}{16}$ in.

Plate 73.

(a) Reverse of a tablet broken down the middle, marked "*Ja* (1926). Pagán, E. of Mingalazedi". 4 lines: –

kyāk wo' | tarley mahā | kas ma (lāt) | wo' |

"This Buddha was stamped (?) by the Revd. *Mahākas*" [Mahākassapa].

(b) Lower part of a Reverse marked "I 148. From a ruined pagoda in Po Sein's field N. of Myinkaba, E. (? N.E.) of Mingalazedi". The 4 lines of Mon appear to be complete: –

|| wo' kyāk | ey ma kantan | phal wo' nibbā | n paramargato ||

"This Buddha was (hardened?) by me. The fruit of this – (may it be) the most excellent Nirvāṇa!"

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(c) Bottom right corner of a Reverse marked "1926. A. Pagán, E. of Mingalazedi". 3 broken lines: –

... poy pu.. | .....ṅkoy mic | ..... kum

"Our ..., Pu ....., desires .... also".

(d) Top part of a Reverse marked "I 87. Pagan (1926). (E. of) Mingalazedi". 4 lines of old cursive: –

māṅ ʾuṅ | m(e)y khliy | kaʾlan | phoṅ

"Prince (?) 'Uṅ Mey Khliy (and) the *kaʾlan* Phoṅ".

Possibly *māṅ* 'prince' (the root meaning of which in Burmese is 'old'), may here stand for *amaṅ*, title of a minor official (cf., e.g., *I.B.*, Pl. I 7[15] *amaṅ khuy mi* in a list of witnesses, 542 s./1180 A.D.; or again *amaṅga* in Pl. 449 d *infra*). It seems here to be followed by an Old Burmese woman's name *ʾUṅ Mey* (or *May*) *khliy* (the last word, *khliy* 'dung', is not uncommon in names of women, averting the Evil Eye). If so, the donors here might be husband (a *kalan* official) and wife (an *amaṅ*).

(e) Lower half of a Reverse from "E. of Mingalazedi". 3 lines of obscure writing; the third may possibly read: –

maṅ = adhiphu

(f) Lower part of a squared tablet marked "1926. Pagan. (E. of) Mingalazedi". 2 final lines of an inscription: –

..... (kla)n waṅ | mā|tā mbi bhā...

– possibly the names of a *kalan* and his mother (*mātā*).

(g) A Reverse damaged down both sides, marked *Ja.* 3 lines, almost complete: –

|| woʾ p(o|ṅ) = mom ma ph(ā) r ||

"This was ... by Poṅ = mom" (?).

(h) Bottom right corner of a Reverse. 2 lines: –

(...) pay lom (...) maṅ ñon

– perhaps the names of donors, wife and husband.

(i) Bottom left corner of a Reverse. 2 lines of scribble (?) in more hands than one. One name appears to begin with *maṅ*.

Plate 74. *Ānandatthera's tablet. Attack of Māra's army. Mon inscription on both faces.*

(a) Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Now in 3 fragments (found); and 2 fragments (missing) from the left shoulder and bottom right corner of the Obverse. Found in 1955–56 by Htwe Sein in a ruined pagoda N.E. of Upali Thein, Pagán, together with the broken 40-Buddha tablet shown on Pl. 68 (a, b), the bronze lotus shown on Pl. 426 (*infra*), and the *andagu* stone slab of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 404). The design of the Eight Scene tablet is almost identical with that of Mahāsālini's tablet (Pl. 71 a): but the 2 lines of fine Nāgarī at the base are here missing, also the Nāgarī gloss on the Pārileyyaka scene. On the other hand, the bare background of the Mahāsālini tablet is seen from this to be partly due to the wearing-off of surface detail, streamers, leafage, etc., here richly preserved owing to the greater depth of rim. – Obverse.

(b) 2 lines (slightly damaged at right shoulder) of Pali inscription in Mon script on Reverse of (a): –

|| ānaṇḍattherena (ka)....ū.. | tena buddho homi ||

"(This image was made) by the *thera* Ānanda. Through it, may I become a Buddha!" – The inscription is in the same wording and handwriting as those on the reverse of the 40-Buddha tablet found at the same spot (cf. Pl. 68 b). The *thera* Ānanda, therefore, is the donor of both:

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very likely, also of the bronze lotus and *andagu* slab of the Eight Scenes found with them. Cf. U Mya, *VTB* I, Pl. 45 (a, b, c) and pp. 33–34. The reading on the reverse of U Mya's specimen appears to be somewhat different from mine.

(c) Rimmed tablet, squared below, arching to a point above. Though not the same as the Ānanda/Mahāsālini tablets, the arrangement is similar. There is a faint line in Mon script at the base. This tablet is a little narrower and taller: height 6¾ in., breadth at base 4½ in. The central Buddha's throne is narrower (with chevron pattern on the recess). The arch above rises steeply without horizontal roofs. Stupas are added on each side of the śikhara. Side-figures, too, are taller. The Standing Buddhas on all three tablets have architectural frames crowned with stupas. On the two other tablets these tilt to suit the sway of the Buddha: but here the pose is vertical. On all three, Māyā rests her left hand on her hip, not on Pajāpatī's shoulder.

(d) Rimmed tablet, square up to the shoulders, brought to a low point at the top. Obtained at Pagán, but exact provenance unknown. Badly weathered. This type of plaque is rare, and in some respects unique. The arrangement of scenes is as follows: –

(Umbrella)
PARINIRVĀṆA (Ānanda kneeling)
3 elephant-riders
of Māra's army attacking

NĀLĀGIRI (monk) (elephant)	EARTH-	(Indra) DESCENT FROM TĀVATIṀSA (Sāriputta kneeling)
FIRST SERMON	TOUCHING	(Buddha) YAMAKA- (Buddha) PĀṬIHĀRIYA
PĀRILEYYAKA (B. in pralambanâsana. Elephant climbing).	BUDDHA Old Mon inscription (6 lines)	NATIVITY (Babe. Māyā. Pajāpatī)

The Old Mon inscription is hardly visible on this unbroken tablet, but is visible on fragments – see (e) *infra*. It appears to have been continued on the Reverse. The Nativity shows 3 figures of almost equal height. Māyā is in the centre, raising her right arm to the tree, resting her left on Pajāpatī's shoulder. The Babe, already wearing a *mukuṭa*, stands on his lotus, a waterpot between him and his mother. The Pārileyyaka scene shows only the Buddha seated on a carved stool with legs hanging, and a small elephant clambering up to fill the large almsbowl he holds in his hands. The First Sermon shows only the haloed Buddha seated with right hand raised to left shoulder, and left resting in the lap. In the Twin Miracle on the opposite side the 2 created Buddhas are clear by the side of Gotama. In the Descent from Tāvatiṁsa only one god attends on the left, with Sāriputta kneeling below him. In the Nālāgiri scene the two-headed elephant (charging and crouching) looks much more formidable than usual in Burma. His raised trunk (which normally can hardly reach the Buddha's drooped hand) here is as high as the Buddha's shoulder. The height of the arch above the central Earth-touching Buddha, is reduced in order to make room for an added scene: the attack of Māra's army. Māra is seen directing them on

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the right. On the left the army is confined to three riders on elephants brandishing weapons. A comparison with the great Pāla stone slab of the Eight Scenes at Baragaon (Nālandā), makes the identification pretty certain: there too, in the top left corner, immediately below the Parinirvāṇa ledge, are elephant-riders brandishing weapons and advancing to the attack, with many monsters below them. The top of our tablet is filled with the long bed on which Gotama lies, shaded by a large umbrella, Ānanda kneeling in prayer at his feet. – Obverse.

Height 6½ in. Breadth 4 in.

U Mya, *VTB* I, Pls. 51, 52, and pp. 39–40.

(e) A fragment of a similar tablet, marked I 356 from Pagán, showing only the bottom tier of scenes. Here 6 short lines of Old Mon (?), hardly legible at the top, intervene between the Pārileyyaka and the Nativity scenes: –

. . . (ʾ)na | . . . (h)ya | . . (sa)ṅ g(u) |ḷā m(i)c | dass | kom

Neg. 2442 (1923–24).

(f) The Reverse of (e), showing 3 (+) lines of Old Mon, probably in continuation (after a gap) of the inscription on the Obverse: –

. . . . . | ʾ ey. . . | das ñaḥ i |svar

"I am the lord". – This was the 'lion-roar' of the Babe Gotama, after taking his first 7 steps northwards.

Neg. 2443 (1923–24).

Plates 75 to 78. EARLY PAGÁN PAGODAS.

Plate 75.

(a) *BU PAYA*

Bulbous stupa on the riverbank at the N.W. corner of the walls of Pagán.

Height 35 ft. 8 in. Circumference 48 ft. 4 in.

Arch. Dept. phot. Cf. *Negs.* 323, 324 (1905–06). *Pict. Guide*, p. 42.

See *ASB* 1905, App. A, p. 23, No. 6. *ASI* 1924, p. 82 (fn). Text, ch. XIII, p. 258 and n. 4.

(b, c) *NGA KYWÈ NADAUNG.*

Glazed bulbous stupa in S. part of the city, just N. of Nat-hlaung-gyaung.

Height 44 (+) ft. Circumference above plinth 82 ft.

(c) is a photograph by Tin Oo. Cf. *Neg.* 5424 (1953–54). *Pict. Guide*, p. 38.

See *ASB* 1904, p. 10; 1905, p. 25; 1907, pp. 8–9, 12; 1911, p. 10. *ASI* 1907, p. 29.

At present only the upper, bulbous part of the stupa is glazed. See Text, ch. XIII, pp. 258–9. Col. Ba Shin's note on the top part is as follows: –

"This bulbous stupa is solid except at the top, where there is a large pit which, to all appearance, was left by treasure-hunters. On the average the pit is about 5 ft. 6 in. deep. Its shape is very uneven. It is neither oblong nor round. The top also is not level. By and large, the S. side is higher than the N. The bricks of the sides recede outwards to the top of the side. The maximum length from N. to S. is 9 ft. 7 in.; the maximum breadth from E. to W. is 8 ft. 8 in. There is an opening on the N. side, with a water-outlet below. This opening was repaired by the Archaeological Department. It is 3 ft. 1 in. wide, 5 ft. high and 8 ft. 10 in. long.

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"I am of the opinion that when the stupa was intact, it was like other bulbous stupas, such as the Bu Paya and the one close to Mimalaung Kyaung on the N.W., perhaps with a *cetī* top. The hole left by the treasure-hunters may have brought about the collapse of the top part, leaving the pit to be repaired by the Archaeological Department."

Plate 76. *High-cylindrical and bulbous stupas.*

(a) High-cylindrical stupa about 100 yards S. of Shweguncha temple, near Taungbi village, N.E. of Pagán.
Phot. Tin Oo.

(b, c, d). Bulbous stupa a few yards N.W. of Mimalaung Kyaung, on the E. side of the road to Myin-pagán, inside the city-wall on the S. Height 31 ft. Circumference at 2nd terrace 48 ft., at ground level 88 ft.
(b) View from the W.
(c) View from the S.E.
(d) View from the S.
All phot. Tin Oo.

Plate 77. *Four bulbous stupas near Thiripyitsaya.*

On the W. side of the road to Chauk, 3 furlongs N.NE. of Thiripyitsaya village. The terraces of these stupas are all circular.

(a) Profile view of the four stupas from the S.E.
(b) First in the group, the southernmost. Height 32 ft. Circumference 26 ft. 5 in.
(c) Second in the group, from the S.
(d) Third in the group, from the S. Height 35 ft. Circumference 39 ft.
(e) Fourth in the group, the northernmost. Height 30 ft. Circumference 40 ft. 5 in.
All phot. Tin Oo.

Plate 78.

(a, b, c) *PÉBIN-GYAUNG.*

In the N.W. part of the old city, S. of Bu Paya and N.W. of Mahābodhi temple. See Text, ch. XIV, pp. 284–5. (a) shows the exterior, (b) the Ground-plan, and (c) the Section of the inner chamber.

Arch. Dept. phot. Cf. *Neg.* 5400 (1953–54). *Pict. Guide*, p. 43. See *ASB* 1915, pp. 4, 44; 1916, p. 27 and Pl. II (1), which shows it as it was before repairs. Height 40 ft. 9 in.
The present measurements of the inner chamber are: – Shrine: 5 ft. 10 in. square; max. height 10 ft. Hall: 4 ft. 11 in. x 4 ft. 8 in. ; max. height 4 ft. 5 in. Entrance: 3 ft. 3 in. x 3 ft. 5 in.; height 2 ft. 10 in. The original ground-level was doubtless a good deal lower than it is today.

(d) *PAW-DAW-MU* stupa, S.W. of Nagayôn temple. It stands on a high point just E. of the road, E. of Sômin-gyi pagoda. Originally an "encased stupa". It is not to be confused with the other

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'Pawdawmu' (commonly called Scovell's Pawdawmu), Pl. 259 b, N.NW. of Dhammayan-gyi. See Text, ch. XIII, p. 281.

Cf. *Neg.* 366 (1905–06), as the stupa was before repairs. See *ASB* 1908, pp. 6, 20, 23; 1916, p. 27 and Pl. II, fig. 2; 1918, p. 19. *Pict. Guide*, p. 55. Height above platform 16 ft.

Plates 79 to 118. ANIRUDDHA'S WORKS OF MERIT.

Plate 79.

(a) *MYINKABA ZEDI* built by Aniruddha *c.* 1044 A.D. (?).

On the N. bank of Myinkaba ('Horse-saddle Stream'), where it enters the village of Myinpagán, E. of the main road, about a mile S. of Pagán city. For the circumstances of the building, see Ch. I, p. 10; Ch. XIII, p. 259.

Height about 44 ft. Circumference of the lowest rim of the *aṇḍa*: 98 ft. 3 in.

Ref. *ASB* 1905, p. 28. Pict. Guide, p. 50. *Neg.* 5461 (1953–54).

(b) *KHĂBIN MAUNG DI ZEDI* built by Aniruddha *c.* 1050 A.D. (?). For the circumstances of the building, and the legend of the fisherman Maung Di, see Text, Ch. II, p. 20, Ch. XIII, pp. 259–260.

This large pagoda stands near San-ywa village, half a mile S. of the moated walls of Khăbin (*Krapaṅ*), 7 miles E. of Twanté in the direction of Rangoon. The two upper octagonal terraces, above the laterite ones, were lined with Aniruddha's largest terracotta tablets (see Pls. 4, 5), all signed with his name.

Neg. 7907 (1957–58). See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1915, pp. 14–17.

Plates 80–82. PAGÁN PITAKAT-TAIK.

Aniruddha's 'Library for the Piṭaka' stands next to the palace site, on the S. side of the road shortly after it enters the city at Tharaba Gate. For the date (*c.* 1057 A.D.) and circumstances of the building, see Text, Ch. XIV, p. 285. In 1783 it was repaired by Bodawpaya.

See *ASI* 1907, p. 32 and Pl. X (b). *ASB* 1907, pp. 17, 20; 1918, p. 21. *Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma* (Rangoon, 1921), p. 16. J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, Pl. XL and pp. 356–7.

The exterior measures 51½ ft. square, excluding the front platform and steps. The Shrine (empty) is 12 ft. square, with four pendentives and stone door-sill. The Corridor (22⅓ ft. square) is 8½ ft. broad, with lean-to vaulting and cornice on the inner wall. The walls are 4⅓ ft. thick. The three vaulted doorways are 3 ft. 10 in. broad. Windows and niches are corbelled.

Plate 80. *View from due S.*

Phot. Tin Oo. Cf. *Pict. Guide*, p. 34. *Neg.* 5392 (1953–54).

Plate 81.

(a) *View from the S.E.* The building as it was in 1906, before repairs.

Neg. 430 (1906–07).

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(b) Cross-Section.
Arch. Dept.

(c) Ground-plan.
Arch. Dept.

Plate 82. *Perforated Stone Windows* (drawing and photographs).

The middle window on the W. face measures 2 ft. 5 in. square. The others range from 2 to $1\frac{2}{3}$ ft. square.

(a) Detail of two windows, Lotus-wheel and Circles. Drawn by Kin Maung Yin and Hla Myint (Students of Architecture, Rangoon University).

(b) Lotus-wheel. One of the two on the W. face.

(c) Lion with reverted head. Window on S. face near S.W. corner.

(d) Circles. Middle window on W. face, 2 ft. 5 in. square.

(e) Lion with reverted head. Window on S. face near S.E. corner.

(f) Circles with floral diamonds between. Similar to the stone windows of Myébôntha Payahla (Pl. 250 e).

Plates 83–87. PAGÁN SHWÉ-HSAN-DAW (MAHĀ-PEINNÈ) PAGODA.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 260–2.

This great pagoda stands half a mile S. of the S.E. corner of Pagán city-wall. It was built by Aniruddha (*c.* 1060 A.D.?) to enshrine the Buddha's "Golden Hair-relic" presented, it is said, by the grateful king of Pegu. See Text, Ch. II, p. 27. The stone images of Hindu gods, sometimes placed back to back, which once guarded the corners of the terraces, may have given the pagoda its alternative name – 'Mahā-peinnè' (Pali *Vināyaka*), i.e. Gaṇeśa pagoda. It has five square terraces.

Height 135 ft. 6 in. Height from top terrace 62 ft. 8 in. Breadth of side at ground-level 156 ft., at top terrace 61 ft. 8 in.

See *ASB* 1905, p. 27. *ASI* 1927, pp. 161–165 and Pl. XXXVII (c). *Pict. Guide*, p. 45.

Plate 83.

(a) View from S.E. corner. *Neg.* 5441 (1953–54).

(b) Site-Plan.
Drawing by U Htwe Sein (Arch. Engineer, Pagán).

Plate 84. *Hindu deities guarding the corners.*

(a) Deities guarding the S.E. corner, first terrace (1905). One sits in *namaskāramudrā*. Another, in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, holds a weapon. Now all are fallen in fragments. *Neg.* 347 (1905–06).

(b) Head of one deity.

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(c) Group of fragments now at S.W. corner.

(d) Headless deity or deities, back to back, at S.E. corner, second terrace from the bottom. Both figures probably had hands raised in *namaskāramudrā*.

(e) Two double-bodied headless deities, back to back, on E. face, third terrace, near the N.E. corner.

Plate 85.

(a) Interior of Temple C, on N. side of the E. *gandhakuṭī* (see Site Plan, Pl. 83 b). Here are three monolithic stone images. The central Buddha, lacquered and gilded, seated in *dhyānamudrā* without reredos, measures 5½ ft. high above the pedestal, and 4 ft. 8 in. from knee to knee. Whether they date from the Pagán period, is questionable. See Text, p. 421.
Cf. *Neg.* 383 (1905–06), central image only.

(b, c) The building (c), marked B on the Site-plan (Pl. 83 b), is let into the W. wall of the enclosure, a little to the S. of the W. entrance-arch. It houses the SHINBIN-THALYAUNG, a colossal reclining-image (b) of the Buddha entering *parinirvāṇa*. Length of image 69 ft. 10 in. Breadth 10 t. Height at shoulder 14 ft. 2 in. The Buddha lies (as usual in Burma sculpture), on his right side; but his head (contrary to the texts) is here towards the south.
(b) Photograph of the image by M. Lavaud.
(c) The building. *Neg.* 5442 (1953–54).
See *ASB* 1915, pp. 4, 44. *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 44.

(d) Also found near the site was this fine fragmentary Jātaka plaque, inscribed at the top. "... jāt 108", i.e. *Bāhiya Jātaka* No. 108, now at Pagán Museum.
Col. Ba Shin notes: – "The Museum records show that the fragment was found in the *gu* N. of Shwéhsandaw pagoda on March 7th. 1955. It bears the number 4/166." None of the extant Shwésandaw Jātaka plaques have any writing on them. And this plaque is differently designed, thicker and larger than the others. We are convinced that it really belongs to the Hpetleik series (*infra*, Pls. 97–116).

Plates 86, 87. Pls. 86, 87. *Shwéhsandaw Jātaka plaques*, now at Pagán Museum.
Col. Ba Shin reports as follows: –
"The plaques are not glazed. They are rectangular, greater in breadth than height. The average for the complete plaque is: Height 10 in. Breadth 11⅛ in. Thickness ¾ in. In most cases there is a low ledge at the base, leaving about 1½ in. at the bottom bare, probably intended for writing. But there is no writing on any of the plaques. Where there is no ledge, traces of it are still to be seen. ... I visited the pagoda to check the measurements of the pockets in which these plaques were originally fixed; and also to find out the total number of pockets with a view to ascertain if the pagoda had the whole series of 550 Jātakas. The pagoda was under repair, and it had been plastered and whitewashed down to the second terrace. I cannot say, therefore, whether the top three terraces of the five have pockets for plaques. Of the bottom two, only the lowest terrace has them. There are four recessions on each side of the central steps on each face. Each recession has

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room for seven plaques, and the part nearest the steps has room for 8. Thus on each side of the steps one can count 36 pockets (if intact), on each face 72, on all four faces 288. I found no plaque *in situ*. Three pockets, almost intact, on the N. face of the lowest terrace were measured: they are of the required size to hold the plaques now in Pagán Museum, including those with Old Burmese writing at the base."

The two plaques with Burmese writing, illustrating Vaṭṭaka Jātaka No. 35 and Kaṇha Jātaka No. 29, are clearly late intrusions (see Ch. XIII, n. 31). Also the plaque showing Bāhiya Jātaka No. 108, from the Hpetleik series (see Pl. 85 d). The plaque shown by Duroiselle at *ASI* 1913, Pl. LII (16) was not recovered by the Colonel; but he found all the other known ones, and many more. Eighteen, complete or fragmentary, are illustrated below. All are as photographed by Tin Oo except Pl. 86 b, f, i.

Plate 86. – 9 *complete Jātaka plaques.*

(a) Cf. *Neg.* 1197 (1913–14). Doubtless illustrates *Sālūka Jātaka*, No. 286.

(b) *Neg.* 1200 (1913–14).

(c) Cf. *Neg.* 1199 (1913–14).

(f) *Neg.* 1198 (1913–14). *ASI* 1913, Pl. LII (16).

(g) Cf. *Neg.* 1196 (1913–14). *ASI* 1913, Pl. LII (15).

(i) *Neg.* 1201 (1913–14). Only the right half of this plaque survives at Pagán Museum.

Plate 87. 9 *Plaques, complete or fragmentary.*

(e) Cf. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LII (14).

Plates 88, 89. IMAGES OF GAṆEŚA FOUND IN BURMA.

See Text, ch. XI, pp. 204–6.

Plate 88. (a, b, c). *Negs.* 3127, 3129, 3128 (1928–29).

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, pp. 112–3. Ray, *Brahm. Gods in Burma*, pp. 67–68, 92 and Pl. XXI 27 a, b, c.

Duroiselle discovered this image in a mound W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda, S. of Myinpagán, "in the relic-chamber of a ruined temple, along with a Buddha head, and a terracotta votive tablet bearing effigies of the Buddha." It is of stone, he says, height 6½ in. Ray corrects this: "The whole stele is only 6½ in., and the image itself 5½ in. in height; and the material is not stone but white cement-plaster."

The elephant-headed god, crowned, large-eared, tusked, with third eye conspicuous in the centre of his forehead, sits in *padmâsana* against an arched backslab. He has four arms: the upper right hand holds the Hook (*aṅkuśa*), the upper left the Conch (*śaṅkha*); the lower left supports the swollen belly; the lower right, holding the Rosary (*akṣamālā*), is in the earth-touching attitude. Three animals are shown on three sides of the pedestal: (a) in front, a large rodent or

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crocodile facing right; (b) on the proper left, a fish swimming left; (c) on the proper right, a tortoise facing right.

(d) *Neg.* 3919 (1936–37).

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1937, p. 77. "A stone image of Gaṇeśa, height 4¼ in.", found in "a circular mound of bricks measuring 50 ft. in diameter at the base, with a height of 8 ft. in the centre, ... 2 furlongs N.W. of Kôktheinnayôn at Myinpagán."

The elephant-headed god, crowned, large-eared, four-handed, sits in *padmâsana* on a low pedestal against a backslab. The upper right hand's attribute is not clear. The upper left holds the Discus. The lower right rests on the knee in *varadamudrā*. The lower left is under the curling end of the trunk. Tusks are barely seen. There is no 'pot-belly'.

(e) *Neg.* 3187 (1929–30).

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1930, p. 158. "Found at a mound N. of the Taw-ya-gyaung, Myinpagán." "A stone image of Gaṇeśa, 8½ in. in height. Broken into two fragments, and found ... among the remains of a Buddhist temple. Four hands: right hanging down and holding a rosary; left bent and pressed against the abdomen. Other two hands are folded up, the right holding a hook, and the left a club. Mongoose carved on the front of the pedestal." Large ears and belly. Short tusks. Backslab arching to a point.

(f) *Neg.* 1109 (1912–13).

Two badly weathered reliefs of Gaṇeśa, formerly at Pagán Museum. Provenance not stated. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Both elephant-headed figures are shown seated against a backslab. Both wear crowns, and both have four arms, but details are indistinct. Both *may* have the form of a longish animal (query mongoose?) on the front face of their pedestals.

The image on the left, with square ear flaps, sits in *padmâsana*, as if in earth-touching attitude, possibly with Rosary. In his upper right hand he *may* hold the Conch, in his upper left the Hook; his lower left is cupped below his short trunk. He is not pot-bellied.

The image on the right sits in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right leg upright, left flat. In his upper left hand he holds the Wheel, and rests his lower left on the ground beside his knee. His lower right may support the belly.

See Ray, *Brahm. Gods....*, Pl. XX 25, 26 and pp. 68–69, 92: – "They are miniature votive tablets. ... One" [the figure on the left] "is carved out of stone, the other" [the figure on the right] "is of white plaster."

Plate 89.

(a) *Neg.* 3408 (1930–31).

Fragment of a stone image of Gaṇeśa found in a mound W. of Sômin-gyi pagoda, S. of Myinpagán. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

Only the upper half, from the large belly upwards, is left. The elephant-headed god, with large ears and conical head (damaged), sits against a flat-arched backslab. He has four arms. The upper right holds the Wheel (*cakra*), the upper left the Fly-whisk (*cāmara*); the lower right holds a short weapon below the right shoulder, the lower left supports the belly.

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(b, c) Two aspects of a small stone image of Gaṇeśa, once stored at Kyanzittha Ônhmin, Pagán, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Provenance not stated. It is marked No. 55.
Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. Thickness at base $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.

No backslab. The elephant-headed god sits in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right knee half raised, left almost flat. He has bushy-curly hair, and probably a crown; little or no 'pot-belly'; large ears, long torso, and only two hands. The right hand is cupped below his short trunk, the left rests on the knee. A four-footed animal facing left, possibly a mongoose, is carved on the front of the pedestal.

(d) Cf. *Neg.* 3124 (1928–29).

Fragment (upper half) of a Gaṇeśa relief on a thin slab of light-green rock-crystal. Provenance not stated. Now at Pagán Museum. Marked on the back "V. G.S."
Max. height $3\frac{1}{2}$ (+) in. Breadth $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The backslab arches flatly to a point. The crowned elephant-headed god, with square-cut ear-flaps, shoulders and round belly, is sitting. He had four hands originally, no doubt, but now the lower right is lost. The upper right holds a lotus-bud (or conch ?), the upper left the Hook. The lower left probably supports the belly below the end of the trunk.

(e) Small bronze image of Gaṇeśa found by Col. Ba Shin in the Coin Cabinet at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Phot. Ba Shin.

The large-eared elephant-headed god has a high coiled *jaṭāmukuṭa*. He appears to be seated, but only the thighs remain. He had four arms, but three are broken at the elbow. The upper right hand, raised outwards from the elbow, appears to hold a fruit in the palm. No 'pot-belly'.

(f, g) *Neg.* 3262, 3263 (1929–30).

Two aspects of a tiny bronze image (1.7 in. in height), found in 1913 when Guthônlôn temple at Kyauksauk (near Pagán) collapsed. It shows the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa back to back with Gavaṁpati, both with hands covering their eyes. This curious image – thought to have been used in witchcraft – may date from the post-Pagán period. See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1913, p. 23; *ASI* 1930, p. 158 and Pl. XLI (d).

Note. Other images of Gaṇeśa, reported but not illustrated, include the follg.: – At *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 180, U Mya reported the finding, in a mound N. of the Tawya-gyaung, of a "small figure of a crowned and four-handed Gaṇeśa in baked clay. It is seated crosslegged on a pedestal with a back. The two upper hands are raised, the right holding a ring or a *cakra*, and the left a club. The figure of a mongoose is carved in relief on the front side of the pedestal. Total height: 2 in."

On p. 67 of his *Brahm. Gods. . . .* (published in 1932), Dr. Ray mentions two rough images of Gaṇeśa at "Rangoon Museum", measuring 1 ft. 4 in. × 1 ft. and 8 in. × 4 in. One had the elephant-head and the usual four arms, the other (apparently without the elephant-head ?) had six arms. Both had bulging bellies. He does not illustrate them. It seems that these two Gaṇeśas in the old Phayre Museum at Rangoon are now lost. A six-armed Gaṇeśa without the elephant-head would be, I think, unique in Burma. Note that one small Gaṇeśa relief, probably from Lower Burma, was photographed at the Phayre Museum in a group by F. O. Oertel in 1892 (see his *Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April 1892*, Photograph No. 8, bottom left corner).

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Plates 90, 91. IMAGES OF THE FAT MONK, FOUND IN BURMA.

See Text, Ch. XI, pp. 206–8.

Plate 90.

(a, b, c) Cf. *Neg.* 7649, 7650, 7651 (1957–58).

Max. height 4½ in. Breadth at base 2½ in. Thickness at base 2 in.

This stone statuette (3 aspects) is perhaps the oldest image of the Fat Monk in Burma. It was found, together with a four-faced gold image of the Buddhas, within a miniature stone stupa, within a laterite cone, in the relic-chamber of Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-htaung) pagoda, near the riverbank in East Rangoon. In the same relic-chamber a votive tablet was found, with the Pali 'credo' written in letters dating from about the 7th cent. A.D.

The monk sits in *padmâsana*, both hands (with very long thumbs) clasped under his protuberant belly. His ears reach to the shoulders. His hair, cut level at the nape of the neck, smoothly covers his bowl-like head. He has large pouting lips, broad nose, almond eyes, and eyebrow-ridges joined. There is a large hole bored at the back of the waist, perhaps for insertion of a relic. He sits on a mat above a plain pedestal, without backslab. There are traces of lacquer and gilding on the image, but no evidence of robe.

(d) *Neg.* 4125 (1938–39).

"A fat-bellied figure of an arahat (4¾ in. × 3 in. × 1¼ in.) seated crosslegged on a lotus seat with hands. . . . in *dhyānamudrā*." Stone. Unearthed at Śrī Kṣetra by the Shwényaungbin-yo Abbot, near his monastery S. of Taunglônnyo village. – See Lu Pe Win, *ASB* 1939, pp. 9–10, and App. F, p. xii, No. 80.

This is one of a group of images (*Arch. Neg.* 4125) including bronze Buddhas standing or touching earth, and a small silver relic-casket, all found at the same site. The monk sits in *padmâsana*. His mat rests on an unusual throne, with upturned lotus, leaf and bud, set between courses of beading. Beads also stud his forehead. His ears reach to the shoulders. His eyebrow-ridges join, with a round spot, resembling the *ūrṇā*, just above the point of junction. Robes are indicated by lines at neck, wrists and ankles.

Note. At *ASB* 1925, p. 16, there may be another mention of the Fat Monk found at Śrī Kṣetra. The site was near the W. citygate, Kinmunchôn village. Duroiselle writes: – "On each side of the old city-gate . . . were found two fragments of a stone image which, from the distended abdomen, probably resembled Jambhala; these fragments. . . . belonged to a period anterior to the XIth century A.D." Ray (*Sansk. Buddh.*, p. 47) approved of the identification "on account of the protruding abdomen and the elaborate ornaments." – I have not seen the image, nor any photograph of it.

(e, f) *Neg.* 2199 (1920–21).

Gilded bronze statuette of the Fat Monk now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Found in a ruined pagoda in Pakôkku (see *ASB* 1922, p. 33; *ASI* 1929, p. 111), where Duroiselle took it to be the "Chinese Maitreya". Height 6 in. Breadth 4½ in. Thickness 3 in.

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Two aspects are shown, front and right side profile. The Monk sits in *padmâsana*, on indented mat and pedestal. He wears the monastic robe, with flap over left shoulder. His hair is in stylized curls. His ears reach the shoulders. His two large hands meet to support his belly.

Plate 91.

(a) *Neg.* 3108 (1928–29).

Terracotta image of the Fat Monk found in a mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo temple, Pagán. – See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, pp. 109–110 and Pl. LI (c). Found in a relic-chamber on one side of a brick image of the Buddha Vessabhū (our Pl. 409 c); on the other was another image, "probably its replica, in unbaked clay. The terracotta figure . . . recalls similar ones found . . . at Hmawza" [Śrī Kṣetra]. "These figures are seated in the *vajrâsana*, on a lotus, and their locked hands seem to sustain the weight of their abnormally big belly. The drapery is indicated by lines at the necks, ankles, and wrists." Duroiselle considered the head shaven. It is certainly smooth and bowl-like; but there is a caplike projection above the forehead, which might indicate hair.

Note. In the same mound (p. 111) he found ' a small headless stone image with a protuberant belly. Height 3 in."; and in a neighbouring mound he found in a relic-chamber "a stone image with protuberant belly . . . 8½ in. in height." But his most remarkable find (*ibid.*, not illustrated) was "a small terracotta votive tablet found on one of these mounds. Instead of the usual image of the Buddha, it bears in relief a small seated figure with a shaven head and protuberant belly. This cult appears to have been quite popular among the Buddhists of the 12th–13th century A.D." See Text (p. 207, Ch. XI, n. 28) for a similar figure found by Dupont in Dvāravatī.

(b) *Neg.* 1873 – also (not shown) 1872, 1874 (1918–19) and 644 (1908–09).

Sandstone statuette of the Fat Monk seated in *padmâsana* on double lotus, with low forehead and hands meeting to support his large belly. Robes indicated only by lines at neck, wrists and shins. Found in the relic-chamber of the Sittana (*Cañcanā*) stupa in the far south of Pagán. Height 8 in. Breadth at base 5½ in. Thickness 3 in. Now at Pagán Museum.

See Taw Sein Ko, *JBRS* Vol. I, Part II, p. 1 and fig. 1 (facing p. 4). It was first regarded as a "Chinese Buddha, Omito Fu": see *ASB* 1909, p. 23, App. E, No. 644; 1919, p. 49, App. E, Nos. 1872–74. See also Duroiselle, *ASB* 1922, pp. 33–34, who mentions also another stone image found "in the relic-chamber of the Shwéhsandaw pagoda (11th cent. A.D.)", and "a bronze figure found in a ruined pagoda in Pakôkku" (our Pl. 90 e). The Shwéhsandaw image, I think, is the defaced figure with backslab illustrated in *Arch. Neg.* 1874 (1918–19).

(c, d) *Negs.* 3143, 3144 (1928–29).

Front and back views of a stone image of the Fat Monk recovered from a mound on the E. side of Nyaunggwè (? Nyaunggôn) S. village, Mandalay. The monk, with puffed head as well as belly, sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus, his hands supporting his belly on either side of the navel. Robes indicated only by lines at neck and shins.

See *ASI* 1929, p. 110.

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(e) *Neg.* 3388 (1930–31).

Bronze image of the Fat Monk recovered from the relic-chamber in a mound in the group of pagodas S. of Thiripyitsaya village Taw-ya-gyaung. See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 181; he reported "a small seated figure with a 'pot-belly'. Height $2\frac{3}{8}$ in." Found in 1930–31 in a mound *north* of the Tawyagyaung.

The low-browed, large-eared, square-headed Monk sits with both hands interlocked below his ample paunch, his legs in *padmâsana* dwindled to insignificance by the pomposity above. Indications of robe at neck vaguely visible. The throne he covers has a central band with lotus leaves vaguely outlined on either side of it.

(f) Cf. *Neg.* 3457 (1931–32). Phot. Tin Oo.

Stone image of the Fat Monk smiling. Recovered from brick mound No. 1 in Maung Do's field S.E. of Nagayôn temple. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{1}{3}$ in.

Smooth-headed, with ears touching his shoulders, he sits in *padmâsana*, on his plain pedestal, his belly bulging, his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* below. Lines indicating the robe visible at the neck, wrists and shins.

(g) Sandstone image of the Fat Monk seated in *padmâsana* on double lotus, with hands crossed under his belly. No smile. No indication of robe. Now at Pagán Museum. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Thickness $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(h) Silver-gilt image of the Fat Monk in the W. *gandhakuṭī* museum on the platform of Shwemawdaw pagoda, Pegu. Date uncertain. Height of image itself $2\frac{1}{10}$ in. Height of throne $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. Breadth of front of throne 3 in. Breadth of image from knee to knee 2 in.
Phot. by U San Min of the Burma Army Education Directorate.

The Monk wears the robes of a Buddhist monk: right shoulder bare, flap over left shoulder, hems visible on the shins. He sits, right leg on left, hands on either side of the navel supporting his large belly. His hair is clustered in conventional curls. His mat rests on a flowered bronze lotus-throne, with jewelled pedestal, but this perhaps is not co-aeval with the image.

In the same museum there is also a soft light white stone image (No. 419) of the Fat Monk, perhaps of late date, seated right leg on left, with large hands hugging his belly. Height $2\frac{2}{5}$ in. Breadth $2\frac{1}{10}$ in. Thickness at base $1\frac{3}{10}$ in.

Note. A number of other images of the Fat Monk have been reported at Pagán. Thus in 1931–32 (see *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 186), excavating a mound in a field S.E. of U Kywet's monastery at the S. end of Myinpagan, U Mya found "a headless image of a pot-bellied saint in burnt clay." In a mound near Ôktama pagoda (*ibid.*, p. 187), he found "a pot-bellied saint in stone. Height 3 in." At "the round stupa on the S.E." of Kyazin temple (*ibid.*, p. 189), he found "a headless figure of a saint with pot-belly." In a small mound "a few hundred yards to the S.E. of the Nagayôn temple," he found (*ibid.*, p. 190) "a small figure of a pot-bellied saint made of plaster. Height: nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ in." At Part II, Pl. CXI (c, d), he illustrates two images of the Fat Monk, stone

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and bronze, found by a villager in a ruined shrine in Pyézu Quarter, Pagán. The latter has a Burmese legend dated 1602 A.D. (*ibid.*, Part I, pp. 194–5).

Plate 92. LOKANANDA ZEDI OF ANIRUDDHA, AND THE FOOTPRINT.

See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 260; Ch. VIII, p. 147.

(a) View of the pagoda from the S.E.

Neg. 5489 (1953–54).

Total height 85 ft. 10 in. From 'plantain bud' to base of *aṇḍa* 60 ft. 10 in. From base of *aṇḍa* to pagoda platform 25 ft. Circumference of lowest rim of *aṇḍa* 146 ft.

See *ASB* 1904, pp. 11, 29. *Pict. Guide*, p. 58.

(b) *Left Footprint of the Buddha.*

A broken stone slab, originally from Lokananda Zedi, now at Pagán Museum, in three fragments, not complete. One piece in the left centre, part of the heel, and two of the toes are lost. *Neg.* 3552 (1932–33). Max. length 54 (+) in. Full breadth 29½ in.

This is probably the oldest 'Footprint' in Burma. See U Mya's learned "Note on the Buddha's Footprints in Burma", *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, pp. 320–331 and Pl. CLIII (a): – "The Lokananda Footprint was carved on a slab of hard sandstone of very close grain. It was found in three fragments and in a damaged condition. But many of the marks on it are still in a fairly good state of preservation ... The Shwézigôn Footprint" [our Pl. 93 a] was also carved on a similar slab of stone, and it measures 3 ft. by 1 ft. 4 in. In both these prints the marks on the toes are delineated by whorls of circles and curved lines, and there are on the sole of each many marks in small panels arranged in rows, the wheel mark being placed near the centre." U Mya continues with a detailed comparison and discussion of the 108 auspicious marks, which "follow very closely the lists as given in the *Jinâlaṅkāra-ṭīkā* and the *Anāgatavaṁsa-aṭṭhakathā*, which may on stylistic grounds be placed in the 8th–11th century A.D."

There is another fragmentary stone Footprint at Pagán Museum, different from this one and later in date, but also said to come from Lokananda pagoda (see *Arch. Neg.* 3545 of 1932–33). The total length is 5 ft. 3 in.; the maximum breadth 2 ft. 8 in. Here 5 conch-shells simulate the toes, and the whole is guarded by two Nāgas with intertwisted heads and tails.

Plate 93. OTHER FOOTPRINTS OF THE BUDDHA.

(a) *Neg.* 3553 (1932–33). Right Footprint in stone. One of the two still *in situ* in the 'tazaung' N.E. of the N. *gandhakuṭī* on the platform of Shwezigôn pagoda, Pagán (marked G on Site-Plan, *infra*, Pl. 170 b). The right foot is on the side nearest to the *gandhakuṭī*. Each foot measures 2 ft. 11½ in. long, and is 1 ft. 4 in. broad at the toes.

(b) *Neg.* 3557 (1932–33). Left Footprint, as painted in Loka-hteik-pan temple (Pls. 351 to 356), one of the two painted on the soffit of the ceiling of the Hall. The Footprints point S. towards the main image. So this should be the one on the East. Length 2 ft. 11 in. Breadth at toes 1 ft. 5½ in.

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(c) *Neg.* 3556 (1932–33). Right Footprint, as painted in Theinmazi temple, on the W. side of the lane from Thatbyinnyu to Myinkaba, N. of Kubyauk-ngè. The temple is Early Burmese in style. This Footprint is one of two (the W. side one), painted on the soffit of the ceiling in the N. Hall. Length 2 ft. 6 in. Breadth at toes 1 ft. 3 in.

For all these Footprints, consult U Mya's "Note" mentioned above (Pl. 92 b).

Plates 94 to 118. WEST AND EAST HPETLEIK PAGODAS, THIRIPYITSAYA.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 262 to 267. The following measurements of the two pagodas may be useful: –

W. HPETLEIK

Height		50 ft. 4 in.
Girth		67 ft. 6 in.
Breadth at base:	E. face	72 ft. 1 in.
	N. face	71 ft. 3 in.
	W. face	74 ft. 1 in.
	S. face	72 ft. 7 in.
Length of outer wall of corridor: –		
	E. face	63 ft. 5 in.
	N. face	62 ft.
	W. face	63 ft. 8 in.
	S. face	61 ft. 11 in.
Length of inner wall of corridor: –		
	E. face	54 ft.
	N. face	53 ft. 3 in.
	W. face	54 ft.
	S. face	53 ft. 3 in.

E. HPETLEIK

Height		58 ft. 1 in.
Girth		75 ft.
Breadth at base:	E. face	79 ft. 5 in.
	N. face	79 ft. 9 in.
	W. face	81 ft. 4 in.
	S. face	79 ft. 8 in.
Length of outer wall of corridor: –		
	E. face	71 ft. 2 in.
	N. face	67 ft. 10 in.
	W. face	68 ft. 4 in.
	S. face	67 ft. 8 in.
Length of inner wall of corridor: –		
	E. face	60 ft. 6 in.
	N. face	59 ft. 3 in.
	W. face	60 ft. 6 in.
	S. face	59 ft. 3 in.
E. *maṇḍapa*. Internal length:		64 ft.
Internal breadth:		12 ft. 8 in.

Plate 94. *West Hpetleik pagoda.*

(a) Stupa and corridor under excavation (1906). View from the E. – *Neg.* 441 (1906–07). Cf. *ASI* 1907, p. 128, fig. 1 (before repairs); *ASB* 1916, Pl. III 1 (after repairs).

(b) Excavation–Plan of W. Hpetleik. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLI (facing p. 128).

Plate 95. *Details of W. Hpetleik.*

(a) Top after repairs. Note the ferro-concrete roof substituted for the original vaulting over the corridor.

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(b) Archaic terracotta tablets, with tenons, embedded in the image-niche on the N. side of the pagoda (the original frontage).

(c) Three others, deep-set in their squared rims, may be seen at Pagán Museum.
Height 10½ in. Breadth 6 in. Length of tenon + plaque 12½ in.

(d) One of the 3 tablets at Pagán Museum, showing the Buddha standing between 3 tiers of worshippers and stupas (?), with both his large hands raised in *vitarkamudrā*.
Cf. Taw Sein Ko, *ASI* 1907, Pl. L (d), and p. 127. Also our comment on his view at Ch. XIII, n. 37.

(e) *Neg.* 446 (1906–07). Cf. *I.B.*, Pl. III 305 (b). *ASI* 1907, Pl. L (e). Fragment of Old Mon inscription found in the débris. The find-spot is marked (5) on the Plan (Pl. 94 b), in the N.E. corner. The inscription is discussed at Ch. VI, p. 105.

Plate 96. *East Hpetleik pagoda.*

(a) View of the pagoda from the W., showing the enormous *harmikā*. Note the ferro-concrete roof substituted (except on the E. side) for the original vaulting over the corridors.
Cf. *ASB* 1916, p. 27, and Pl. III (2), after repairs. *Pict. Guide*, p. 61.

(b) N.E. corner of the roof, showing the old vaulting over the corridor. (The original frontage of this pagoda – shown by the steps up to it – was on the West, whereas that of West Hpetleik was on the North.)

(c) *Maṇḍapa* on the E. side of the pagoda, as one looks south. The entrance to the corridor is on the right of the photograph.

(d) *Maṇḍapa* on the E. side of the pagoda, as one looks north, towards the village. The entrance to the corridor is on the left of the photograph.

Plates 97 to 118.

HPETLEIK TERRACOTTA PLAQUES.

See J. H. Marshall and Taw Sein Ko, "The Plaques found at the Petleik Pagoda, Pagán" (*ASI* 1907, pp. 38–40, 127–136, and Pls. XLI–L) – West Hpetleik. Also C. Duroiselle, "Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma" (*ASI* 1913, pp. 87 follg. Pls. L and LI are taken from East Hpetleik). Also G. H. Luce, "The 550 Jātakas in Old Burma" (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIX 3/4, 1956, pp. 291–307; "Jātaka Series", *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission*, Vol. II, 1961, pp. 321–330 and appendix "Variant Jātaka-titles in Early Pagan". For the Pali text of the Jātakas, based on the Singhalese recension, see V. Fausböll, *The Jātaka together with its commentary. . . .* (London, Trübner, 1877–97), 6 vols. and Index. For the English translation, see E. G. Cowell, *The Jātaka . . . translated from the Pāli by various hands* (Cambridge, University Press, 1895–1913), 6 vols. and Index.

The plaques are roughly square: height generally 15 in.; breadth rather less, 14 to 14½ in.; thickness 3¼ in. But there is a good deal of variation. In the notices given below, the text of the writing on each plaque (its Pali name and number) is first given. Then the corresponding name

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and number in the Singhalese recension as printed in Fausböll and Cowell, where the story may be read at length. Then the location of the plaques on the pagodas. Where two plaques of the same Jātaka are visible on the two pagodas, we often locate both, in order to facilitate comparison. References to illustrations of the same plaque in *ASI* (the articles of Taw Sein Ko and Duroiselle cited above) and Negative numbers of photographs in the Burma Archaeological Department, are added. Our own illustrations, unless otherwise stated, are based on excellent photographs taken recently by Saya Tin Oo. Exceptions are usually where the plaque, as it is today, shows loss or deterioration from what it was when originally unearthed. Exposure to air has tended to coarsen the features. To realize the delicacy of their original carving, it is well to consult the oldest reproductions.

Plate 97.

(a) || Devadhamma jāt|| 6 – Devadhamma Jātaka, No. 6.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, last plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 2nd plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLII (a).

(b) . . . deva jāt || 9 || – Makhādeva Jātaka, No. 9.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, last plaque but one.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 3rd plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLII (b).

(c) || Lakkhaṇa jāt || 11 – Lakkhaṇa Jātaka, No. 11.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 4th plaque from end.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 4th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLII (c).
Neg. 186 (1954–55).

(d) || Titthi jāt || 25 – Tittha Jātaka, No. 25.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 14th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 10th plaque ("Tittha jāt"). *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLII (f).

Plate 98.

(a) || Nandivisāla jāt || 28 – Nandivisāla Jātaka, No. 28.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 12th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 14th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIII (a).

(b) || Vedabbha jāt || 48 || – Vedabbha Jātaka, No. 48.
Now at Pagán Museum.

(c) || Kuḍḍāla jāt || 70 – Kuddāla Jātaka, No. 70.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 1st plaque.

(d) || Sabbasāhāra jāt 110 – Sabbasaṁhārakapañha Jātaka, No. 110.
W. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, top tier, last plaque.
E. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, top tier, 4th plaque.

Plate 99.

(a) || Amba jāt || 124 – Amba Jātaka, No. 124.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 3rd plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 2nd tier, 1st plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIII (d).

(b) || Godha jāt || 138 – Godha Jātaka, No. 138.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 6th plaque.

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(c) || Kāka jāt || 140 – Kāka Jātaka, No. 140.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, top tier, 8th plaque.

(d) || Giridatta jāt || 184 – Giridanta Jātaka, No. 184.
W. Hp., S. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 4th plaque.

Plate 100.

(a) ..... (ra) jāt || 194 – Maṇicora Jātaka, No. 194.
Now at Pagán Museum.

(b) || Kāmaniggaha jāt || 228 – Kāmanīta Jātaka, No. 228.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 1st plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIV (a).

(c) || Dutiya Palāsī jāt 230 – Dutiya Palāyi Jātaka, No. 230.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 2nd plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIV (b).

(d) || Vīṇāthuṇa jāt || 232 – Vīṇāthūṇa Jātaka, No. 232.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 4th plaque.

Plate 101.

(a) || Guttila jāt || 243 – Guttila Jātaka, No. 243.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 12th plaque.

(b) || Mūla(pariyāya) jāt || 245 – Mūlapariyāya Jātaka, No. 245.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 13th plaque.

(c) (Sa)vilābana jāt || 246 – Telovāda Jātaka, No. 246.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 14th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 1st plaque ["Vālo.....'].

(d) || Pādañjala jāt || 247 – Pādañjali Jātaka, No. 247.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 15th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 2nd plaque ["Pādañjalī"].

Plate 102.

(a) || T(i)lamuṭhi jāt || 252 – Tiḷamuṭṭhi Jātaka, No. 252.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 19th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIV (c).

(b) || Maṇikaṇtha jāt || 253 – Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka, No. 253.
W. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 20th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIV (d).
Neg. 1788 (1917–18).

(c) Paduma jāt || 261 – Paduma Jātaka, No. 261.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 12th plaque. *ASB* 1913, Pl. II (4).
Neg. 105 (1954–55).

(d) || Paduma jāt || 261 – Paduma Jātaka, No. 261.
W. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 4th plaque.

Plate 103.

(a) ..ū..ppa jāt || 265 – Khurappa Jātaka, No. 265.
W. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 7th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 14th plaque ["Khurappa"].

(b) || Kakkaṭa jāt || 267 – Kakkaṭa Jātaka, No. 267.
W. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 8th plaque.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 15th plaque. *ASI* 1913, Pl. L (4).

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(c) || Ārāmadūsa jāt || 268 || – Ārāmadūsa Jātaka, No. 268.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 16th plaque.
W. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 9th plaque.

(d) || Sālūka jāt || 286 – Sālūka Jātaka, No. 286.
E. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 7th plaque.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 2nd plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIV (f).

Plate 104.

(a) || Nānāchanda jāt || 289 – Nānacchanda Jātaka, No. 289.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 4th plaque.
E. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 8th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLV (a).

(d) || Kāyachanda jāt || 293 – Kāyavicchinda Jātaka, No. 293.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 8th plaque.
E. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 10th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLV (c).

(c) ‖ Kāmatappatu jāt ‖ 297 – Kāmavilāpa Jātaka, No. 297.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 12th plaque.
E. Hp., N. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 11th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLV (d).

(d) ‖ Mahā-assāroha jāt 302 – Mahā-assāroha Jātaka, No. 302.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 17th plaque.

Plate 105.

(a) ‖ Matarodana jāt 317 – Matarodana Jātaka, No. 317.
W. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 1st plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVI (a).

(b) ‖ Tittira jāt ‖ 309 [for 319] – Tittira Jātaka, No. 319.
W. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 3rd plaque.
Cf. *Neg.* 1800 (1917–18). *ASI* 1907. Pl. XLV (f).

(c) ‖ Subbacca jāt ‖ 320 – Succaja Jātaka, No. 320.
W. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 4th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVI (b).

(d) ‖ Daḍḍabhāyata [jāt] 322 – Daddabha Jātaka, No. 322.
W. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 5th plaque.
W. Hp., W. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, last plaque but one. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVI (c, d).

Plate 106.

(a) ‖ Biseyha jāt 340 – Visayha Jātaka, No. 340.
Now at Pagán Museum. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVI (f).
Height of plaque 14¾ in. Breadth 12¾ in. Thickness 3¼ in.

(b) ‖ Araña jāt ‖ 348 – Arañña Jātaka, No. 348.
E. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, 3rd tier from top, 3rd plaque.
Neg. 1805 (1917–18). *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVII (b).

(c) (‖) Neru jāt ‖ 379 ‖ – Neru Jātaka, No. 379.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 6th plaque.
Neg. 120 (1954–55). *ASI* 1913, Pl. LI (10).

(d) ‖ Dhammadhaja jāt ‖ 384 – Dhammaddhaja Jātaka, No. 384.
E. Hp., E. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 10th plaque.
Neg. 1317 (1913–14).

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Plate 107.

(a) ‖ Kāma jāt ‖ 467 – Kāma Jātaka, No. 467.
W. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 9th plaque.
Cf. *Neg.* 1817 (1917–18).

(b) ‖ Janasandha jāt ‖ 468 – Janasandha Jātaka, No. 468.
W. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 10th plaque.

(c) ‖ Mittāmitta jāt 473 – Mittāmitta Jātaka, No. 473.
W. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 14th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLVIII (d).

(d) ‖ Akatti jāt ‖ 480 – Akitti Jātaka, No. 480.
W. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 21st plaque.
E. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, 3rd plaque from the end.

Plate 108.

(a) ‖ Candak(i)nnarī jāt ‖ 485 – Candakinnara Jātaka, No. 485.
E. Hp., S. corridor, inner side, bottom tier, last plaque but one.
Neg. 88 (1954–55). *ASI* 1913, Pl. LI (12).

(b) ‖ Uḍḍāla jāt ‖ 487 – Uddālaka Jātaka, No. 487.
W. Hp., N. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 1st plaque.

(c) ‖ Dasabrāhmaṇa jāt 495 – Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 3rd plaque from N. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIX (a).

(d) ‖ Bhikkhuparampara jāt 496 – Bhikkhāparampara Jātaka, No. 496.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 4th plaque from N.
W. Hp., N. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 8th plaque. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIX (b).

Plate 109.

(a) ‖ Velāma jāt ‖ 497 — (*caret*)
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 5th plaque from N.
v. G. Terral-Martini, "Velāma jātaka", *BEFE-O*, t. XLIX, 2 (1959), pp. 609–616 and Pl. LIV.

(b) ‖ Mahāgovinda jāt ‖ 498 — (*caret*)
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 6th plaque from N.

(c) ‖ Sumedhapaṇḍita jāt ‖ 499 — (*caret*)
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 7th plaque from N.
Neg. 1829 (1917–18). *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIX (c).

(d) ‖ Mātaṅga jāt ‖ 500 – Mātaṅga Jātaka 497.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 8th plaque from N.
Cf. *Neg.* 1829 (1917–18). *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIX (d).

Plate 110.

(a) ‖ Cittasaṁbhūta jāt ‖ 501 – Cittasambhūta Jātaka, No. 498.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 9th plaque from N.

(b) ‖ Sivirāja jāt ‖ 502 – Sivi Jātaka, No. 499.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 10th plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 1st plaque from N. *ASI* 1907, Pl. XLIX (e).

(c) ‖ Campeyya jāt ‖ 509 – Campeyya Jātaka, No. 506.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 17th plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 6th plaque from N.

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(d) ‖ Mahāpalobha jāt ‖ 510 – Mahāpalobhana Jātaka, No. 507.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 18th plaque from N.
Neg. 1832 (1917–18).

Plate 111.

(a) ‖ Hatthipāla jāt ‖ 512 – Hatthipāla Jātaka, No. 509.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 20th plaque from N.
Cf. *Neg.* 1833 (1917–18).

(b) ‖ Chaddanta jāt ‖ 517 – Chaddanta Jātaka, No. 514.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 5th plaque from S. end. *ASI* 1907, Pl. L (b).

(c) ‖ Sambhava jāt ‖ 518 – Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 4th plaque from S. end.
Cf. *Negs.* 465 (1906–07) and 14 (1954–55), which show deterioration. *ASI* 1907, Pl. L (c).

(d) ‖ (P)aṇḍaranāga jāt ‖ 521 – Paṇḍara Jātaka, No. 518.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, lower tier, 1st plaque from S. end.

Plate 112.

(a) ‖ Sambula jāt ‖ 522 – Sambula Jātaka, No. 519.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 1st plaque from N.
Cf. *Neg.* 1834 (1917–18).

(b) ‖ Gaṇḍatiṇḍu jāt ‖ 523 – Gaṇḍatinduka Jātaka, No. 520.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 2nd plaque from N.
E. Hp., E., corridor, outer side, upper tier, 1st plaque from N.

(c) ‖ Tesakuṇa jāt ‖ 524 – Tesakuṇa Jātaka, No. 521.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 3rd plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 2nd plaque from N. "Tesakuna".

(d) ‖ Sarabhaṅga jāt ‖ 525 – Sarabhaṅga Jātaka, No. 522.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 4th plaque from N.

Plate 113.

(a) ‖ Alambusā jāt ‖ 526 – Alambusa Jātaka, No. 523.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 5th plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 3rd plaque from N.

(b) ‖ Naḷaṇ(i) jāt ‖ 529 – Naḷinikā Jātaka, No. 526.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 7th plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 4th plaque from N.

(c) ‖ Bodhiparibbāja jāt ‖ 531 – Mahābodhi Jātaka, No. 528.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 9th plaque from N.

(d) ‖ Saṁkicca jāt ‖ 533 – Saṁkicca Jātaka, No. 530.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 11th plaque from N.

Plate 114.

(a) ‖ Cūlahaṅsa jāt ‖ 536 – Cullahaṁsa Jātaka, No. 533.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 14th plaque from N.

(b) ‖ Mahāhaṅsa jāt ‖ 537 – Mahāhaṁsa Jātaka, No. 534.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 15th plaque from N.

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(c) ‖ Sudhābhojana jāt ‖ 538 – Sudhābhojana Jātaka, No. 535.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 16th plaque from N.
E. Hp., E. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 5th plaque from N.

(d) ‖ Kuṇāla jāt ‖ 539 – Kuṇāla Jātaka, No. 536.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 17th plaque from N.

Plate 115.

(a) | Temiya jāt ‖ 541 – Mūgapakkha Jātaka, No. 538.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 9th plaque from S. end.
Cf. *Neg.* 1842 (1917–18).

(b) Janaka jāt ‖ 542 – Mahājanaka Jātaka, No. 539.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 8th plaque from S. end.
Cf. *Neg.* 1843 (1917–18).

(c) ‖ Sāma jāt ‖ 543 – Sāma Jātaka, No. 540.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 7th plaque from S. end.

(d) ‖ Nemi jāt ‖ 544 – Nimi Jātaka, No. 541.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 6th plaque from S. end.

Plate 116.

(a) ‖ Mahosadha jāt ‖ 545 – Mahā-ummagga Jātaka, No. 546.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 5th plaque from S. end.

(b) ‖ Candakumāra jāt ‖ 546 – Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka, No. 542.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 4th plaque from S. end.

(c) (‖) Bhūridatta jāt ‖ 547 – Bhūridatta Jātaka, No. 543.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, 3rd plaque from S. end.
Cf. *Neg.* 1844 (1917–18).

(d) ‖ Vidhura jāt ‖ 549 – Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka, No. 545.
W. Hp., E., outside wall, upper tier, last plaque, at S. end.
Neg. 1 (1954–55). *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CXIV (b).

Plates 117, 118.

EAST HPETLEIK HELL-SCENES.

Text, Ch. XIII, p. 265. The scenes, often fragmentary, number over a dozen. All are on terracotta plaques on the outer side of the West Corridor – the original front of East Hpetleik – set in both tiers, on either side of the steps of entry. On entering, the visitor might miss them. But as he descended, they were bound to catch his eye. A few of the Hells are still identified by a gloss engraved across the top of the plaque. The handwriting is identical with that of the main Jātaka series. All the photographs of these scenes were taken by Tin Oo. Several of these Hells are described in *Nimi Jātaka*, No. 541 (see E. B. Cowell's translation, Vol. VI, pp. 58–61).

Plate 117.

(a) "*Saṅkhamuṇḍika* Hell".
E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 4th plaque N. of the central steps.
The term is defined in the Pali Text Society's dictionary as "shell-tonsure, a kind of torture." The scene shows a demon decapitating a man, while another demon with an enormous 'mamootie' splits his skull.

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(b) E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 2nd plaque N. of the central steps.

No writing. The scene shows a vertical rain of spears and iron spear-heads falling upon three fleeing-falling women, who raise their hands as if to protect their heads.

(c) E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 1st plaque N. of the central steps.

Only the right side of the plaque remains, with .....*niraya(ṁ)* "Hell," written above, the name of the hell being lost. Below the writing stands a demon, naked except for a loincloth, grasping a huge claymore in his left hand. The right is lost above the elbow.

(d) "॥ *Sunakha nirayaṁ* ॥", 'Dogs' Hell'.

E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 1st plaque N. of the central steps.

Little remains but the title of the Hell, written above. According to Malalasekera (*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 1207), Sunakha Niraya is one of the "Great Hells". Possibly (but this is quite doubtful) the scene shows figures falling under an avalanche of earth.

Plate 118.

(a) E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 1st plaque S. of central steps.

No writing. The large square central panel shows 3 slim women kneeling in the flames. The middle one is in prayer, the other two have hands locked above their heads. 16 small squares enclose the central panel. They show human figures each crouched in his separate dungeon.

(b) E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 2nd plaque N. of central steps.

No writing. Left side mostly lost. A rain of weapons is descending on this side, with two or more figures bearing the brunt of it. On the right, a running demon is pushing another man under the rain, holding him by the hairknot.

(c) "*Tūlākūṭa nirayaṁ*," 'False weights Hell".

E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, lower tier, 3rd plaque N. of central steps. Almost obliterated, the plaque seems to show some figures falling.

(d) E. Hp., W. corridor, outer side, upper tier, 2nd plaque S. of central steps.

Top half lost. The lower half shows 3 large claymores below, and dismembered human heads, arms, limbs and wheels (?) above.

Plates 119, 120. MANUHA TEMPLE, MYINPAGÁN.

See Text, Ch. XIV, p. 286. *Ref. ASB* 1904, p. 6; 1917, p. 29; 1926, p. 8; 1938, p. 4. *ASI* 1904, p. 72 and Pl. XXX (b); 1937, p. 35.

Plate 119.

(a) View from the N.E.

Phot. Tin Oo.

(b) View from the S.W. (1903).

Neg. 100 (1903–04). Cf. *ASI* 1904, Pl. XXX (b). *Pict. Guide*, p. 51. For a view from the S.E., see *Neg.* 5300 (1953–54).

Plate 120.

(a) Colossal Earth-touching Buddha in centre of E. face, measuring 47 ft. from knee to knee. Attributed to Manuha, i.e. Makuṭa, the captive king of Thatôn. Date: *c.* 1060 A.D.

Phot. Film and Stage Dept.

(b) Head of the colossal Earth-touching Buddha on the S. side (E. face). Phot. Kyaw Htun.

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(c) Ground-Plan of the temple: – the three seated Buddhas on the E., the dying Buddha (90 ft. long) on the W. [Arch. Surv.]

Plates 121 to 131. NAN-PAYA TEMPLE, MYINPAGAN.

See Text, Ch. XIV, pp. 286–288, Ch. XI, pp. 211–212.

Ref: – *ASB* 1904, p. 28; 1905, p. 6; 1910, p. 12; 1911, p. 10. *ASI* 1908, pp. 34–35, and Pl. IX (a, b) and fig. 2 on p. 35; 1935, pp. 101–6 and Pl. XXVI. *Mem. ASI* No. 56, Pl. II 1. *Pict. Guide*, p. 52. Ray, *Brahm. Gods in Burma*, pp. 65–66, 93 and Pl. XXIII 30.

Measurements: – Exterior: – Length 76½ ft. Breadth 46 ft. 5 in. Length of shrine 46¼ ft. Length of Hall and Porch 30¼ ft. Breadth of Hall 28¾ ft.

Interior: – Length of Shrine 31⅔ ft. Breadth of Shrine 31 ft. 10 in. Length of Hall 20 ft. 5 in. Breadth of Hall 15¼ ft. Perimeter of the 4 pillars: about 21 ft. in the middle and 26¾ ft. at the base.

Plate 121. View from the S.E. (1918).

Neg. 1859 (1918–19). Cf. *ASI* 1935, Pl. XXVI (a) and (c), for the Nanpaya as it looked before and after repairs.

Plate 122.

(a) Upper terraces, skylight and śikhara (E. face).
Neg. 1860 (1918–19).

(b) Ground-Plinth at S.W. corner.
Phot. Lavaud.

(c) Window with pediment: W. face, near S.W. corner.
Arch. phot.

(d) Window with pediment: S. face, near S.E. corner.
Arch. phot.

(e) Window with pediment: W. face, middle window.
Arch. phot. For the window near N.W. corner, cf. *ASI* 1935, Pl. XXVI (b).

Plate 123.

(a) S.E. corner pilaster and *kīrtimukha* frieze.
Arch. phot. Cf. *ASI* 1908, Pl. IX (b).

(b) *Kyāk Śrī* pediment (*clec*) above middle window of S. face.
Cf. *ASI* 1908, p. 35, fig. 2.

(c) Detail of *kīrtimukha* frieze (S. face, near S.E. corner).

(d) Detail of *haṁsa* dado.
Phot. Lavaud.

Plate 124. (full pl.). *Kyāk Śrī* and *Makara clec* window in the middle of the S. face of the Shrine.
Phot. Film and Stage Dept. Cf. *Neg.* 389 (1905–06). *ASI* 1908, p. 35, fig. 2. Burgess and Spiers, *Hist. Ind. and East. Archit.*, Vol. II (1910), Pl. XXXIX.

Plate 125. *Plan, Elevation and Sections*: –

(a) Longitudinal Section [Arch. Surv.]

(b) Ground-Plan [Arch. Surv.]

(c) Elevation and Cross-Section [Rangoon Univ. Students of Architecture].

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Plate 126. *Measured Drawings* [Arch. Surv.]: –

(a) E. face of śikhara.

(b) Window with pediment (*clec*), N. face.

(c) Elevation of plinth and middle window with pediment, S. face.

(d) Stupa at N.W. corner of roof, seen from the N.

(e) S. (floral) face of S.W. pillar in the interior.

(f) Pagoda-arch connecting cornices of S.E. and S.W. pillars in the interior. *Neg.* 3867 (1934–35). There are similar arches on all four sides. See U Mya, *ASI* 1935, Pl. XXVI (e) and p. 104.

Plate 127. *Pillars of the interior*: –

(a) 3 of the 4 central pillars of the interior. [phot. Lavaud]

(b) Roof-lantern and skylight above the 4 pillars. [phot. Lavaud]

(c) N.W. pillar, seen from the S.

(d) N.W. pillar, seen from the N.

Plate 128. *Brahmā faces of the pillars.*

(a) S.E. pillar. N. face (1905).
Neg. 391 (1905–06). Cf. *ASI* 1908, Pl. IX (a).

(b) S.W. pillar. N. face (1953).
Neg. 5464 (1953–54).

Plate 129.

(a) S.E. pillar. N. face. Brahmā. [phot. Tin Oo]

(b) S.E. pillar. Floral face [phot. Tin Oo]
Cf. Burgess and Spiers, *Hist. Ind. and East Archit.*, Vol. II (1910), Pl. XXXV.

Plate 130.

(a) *Brahmā* seated, full length. S.E. pillar, N. face (1903).
Neg. 114 (1903–04).

(b) *Brahmā*, head and shoulders. N.E. pillar, S. face. [phot. Lavaud]

Plate 131. *Floral faces of the pillars.*

(a) N.E. pillar. N. face.
Neg. 5463 (1953–54).

(b) Another Floral Face of a pillar (1905).
Neg. 392 (1905–06).

Plates 132 to 142. KYAUK-KŪ ÔNHMIN N.E. of Ngaung-u.

See Text, Ch. XIV, pp. 288–291. *Ref.* E. Forchhammer, *Pagán I. The Kyaukku Temple*, first published in Rangoon in 1891. It included a number of valuable photographs and facsimiles not contained in the reprint: *Report on the Kyaukku temple at Pagán* (Aug. 1919, Government Press, Rangoon).

Plate 132.

(a) View of the scenery from the top, looking N.E. up the river. [phot. Lavaud]

(b) Façade of the cave-temple. (Height of stonework 30 ft.).
Neg. 5346 (1953–54). Cf. *Pict. Guide*, p. 16.

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Plate 133.

(a) Colossal stone image of the Earth-touching Buddha. "The width from knee to knee is 16 ft. The height of the image 22 ft. ... It rests on a throne 9 ft. high, 18 ft. broad, and 7 ft." [really 12½ ft.] "deep, constructed of well-hewn stone slabs, set up in a succession of bars showing an outline of band, ovolo, and astragal moulding" (Forchhammer, Reprint, p. 10).

(b) Carved stone window E. of entrance.

Neg. 5348 (1953–54). Forchhammer (Reprint, p. 8) gives an elaborate account of this window.

(c) Ground-Plan.

[drawn by Htwe Sein]. This shows, not only the regular plan of the façade-hall, but also the irregular, devious (*ummanga*, Ônhmin) wanderings of the caves and passages excavated behind it.

(d) Ground-plinth.

[measured drawing by Htwe Sein].

Plate 134.

(a) Stone *Kīrtimukha* frieze (N.E. corner). This runs continuous round all three sides of the façade, and another also round most of the porch.

Neg. 5350 (1953–54).

(b) Short section of the frieze on the E. wall.

(c) Stone dado (exterior). "About 3 ft. from the ground" says Forchhammer (p. 8), "a scroll of leaf-and-tongue design cut in low relief runs along the three sides, interrupted only by the window-projections."

Neg. 5352 (1953–54).

(d) Stone dado round interior pillars.

Neg. 5355 (1953–54).

(e) E. side of dorrway: carved stone jambs and wooden lintel (1905).

Height of entrance up to lintel: 12 ft. Max. height of interior: about 36 ft.

Neg. 402 (1905–06).

Plates 135 to 140. *Stone door-jambs.* Details of carving on the 3 receding planes and 5 carved faces.

Plate 135 (bis). *Door-jamb from Bangarh, Dinajpur, in N.W. Bengal. Now at Dacca Museum* (a, b, c – 3 aspects).

For comparison with the lowest tier of stone carvings on the door of Kyaukku Ônhmin. Prints have been kindly supplied by Mr. A. B. Griswold, who first noted and drew my attention to the similarity. Grateful acknowledgements are due to Dacca Museum authorities for permission to publish. In his letter to Mr. Griswold, the Assistant Curator of the Museum, Dr. Enamul Haque, courteously supplies the following information about the door-jamb: –

"It was reported to have been found in the ruins of Bangarh, a provincial capital of ancient times (in that part of Dinajpur which is now in West Bengal, India). At the end of the 18th century A.D. it was carried therefrom to the palace of the Maharaja of Dinajpur (now in East Pakistan). It was transferred to Dacca Museum in 1963. On stylistic grounds the date may be assigned to 10th–11th century A.D."

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Plate 135. *Kyaukku Onhmin door-jambs.*

(a) Lowest tier. Left (E.) side of entrance. The Guardians.

(b) Lowest tier. Left (E.) side of entrance. *Neg.* 403 (1905–06).

(c) Lowest tier. Left (E.) side of entrance. *Neg.* 1746 (1917–18).

(d) Lowest tier. Left (E.) side of entrance. The Pious Worshipper.

(e) Lowest tier. Right (W.) side of entrance. *Neg.* 1747 (1917–18).

(f) Lowest tier. Right (W.) side of entrance. – the Guardians.

Plate 136.

(a to f). Left (E.) side of entrance. Seen from the N.W. (6 middle tiers).

Plate 137.

(a to f). Left (E.) side of entrance. Seen from the N.W. (6 upper tiers).

Plate 138.

(a to f). Left (E.) side of entrance. 6 recession-tiers. Facing W.

(g, h, i). Left (E.) side of entrance. 3 frontal tiers. Facing N.

Plate 139.

(a to g). Right (W.) side of entrance. 7 frontal tiers. Facing N.

(h, i). Right (W.) side of entrance. Seen from the N.E. (2 lower tiers).

Plate 140.

(a, b, c). Right (W.) side of entrance. Seen from the N.E. (3 upper tiers).

(d, to i). Right (W.) side of entrance. 6 recession-tiers. Facing E.

Note. In Forchhammer's day (*c.* 1890) the doorway had still part of its wooden gate: – "On the west side is still preserved the wing of a wooden gate, which reaches up to the lintel; it swings by the ends of the axis being set in cup-like hollows cut into stones projecting from the wall; the wing is lattice-work, wooden lathes with flowery carving being laid in diagonal checkers" (Reprint, p. 9). His "Plates IV, Nos. 9 and 10, show the mouldings of the exterior of both sides of the entrance, and the designs chiselled in low relief into the stone blocks. No. 10 is the west, No. 9 the east side of the entrance."

Plates 141, 142. *Stone relief sculptures of the life of Gotama.*

Plate 141.

(a) The Nativity. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 157–9.).

(b) Miracle at the Ploughing Ceremony. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 159–160).

(c) The Tonsure. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 163–4).

(d) The Fast. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 164–5).

(e) Descent from Tāvatiṁsa. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 175–7).

(f) Taming of the Nālāgiri elephant. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 178–180).

Plate 142.

(a) Gotama eats rice-alms.

Neg. 6366 (1955–56).

(b) The Enlightenment (surface roughened for lacquering). *Bhūmisparśa mudrā.* (Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 130–1).

Neg. 6382 (1955–56).

(c) The Buddha sheltered by Mucalinda Nāga. (Text, Ch. IX, pp. 171–2).

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(d) The Buddha preaching. *Dharmacakra mūdrā.* (Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 135–6).
Neg. 6359 (1955–56).

(e) The Buddha preaching. *Vidyādharas* on front of lotus.

(f) Standing Buddha, with hands together before body. (Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 140–3).

Note. The above stone sculptures are mostly shattered – probably the result of earthquake. All the niches, said Forchhammer in 1891, "appeared to have contained stone sculptures; most of them have, however, been thrown out of the niches, and lie in wild confusion on the floor, or are buried in the débris of the ceiling, which has given way in some places" (Reprint, p. 10).

Plates 143 to 149. NAT-HLAUNG-GYAUNG. VIṢṆU TEMPLE.

See Text, Ch. XI, pp. 219–222; Ch. XIV, pp. 283–284.

The temple stands near the S. wall of the city, W. of Thatbyinnyu and E. of Păhtothămya. Height 73 ft. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1913, pp. 136–139, with Pls. LXXVIII (b, c), LXXIX and LXXX (a, c). *ASB* 1914, pp. 21–22. *ASI* 1937, p. 165. For Dr. Ray's very full account, see *Brahmanic Gods in Burma*, pp. 34–45, and Pls. I 1, VI 7, VII 8, VIII 9, 10, IX 11, 12, X 13, 14, XI 15, 16, XVI 21. The earliest English accounts of the temple and its images are given in 1826 by John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy..... to the Court of Ava* (2nd Ed. 1834), Vol. I, pp. 120–121; and Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission .... to the Court of Ava in 1855* (London, 1858), pp. 50–51, with Phayre's "Memorandum on the Pagoda at Pagán with Hindoo Images", pp. 53–54.

Plate 143. (full pl.). View from the N.E. (1906), before repairs.
Neg. 433 (1906–07).

Plate 144. (full pl.). Side-view, from due S. [phot. Tin Oo.]

Plate 145.

(a) Front view, from due E. Cf. *Pict. Guide*, p. 37.

(b) View from S.E. corner.

(c) View from W. NW.

(d) View from N.E. corner.

Plate 146.

(a) Main image-recess, on E. side of the inner-upper corridor.
[phot. Tin Oo] See Text, Ch. XI, pp. 219–220.

(b) Ground-Plan of the temple.
[Burm. Hist. Com.]

Plate 147. *Details of the main image-recess and niches.*

(a) Stone relief of the four-armed Viṣṇu borne by Garuḍa. This stone image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa was found, both by Crawfurd (1826) and Phayre (1855), lying neglected on the floor of the temple. It was removed, perhaps by Noetling about 1891, to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, where, as Duroiselle says, it was "reproduced and carefully described by Grünwedel" (see *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde* V Band. *4 Skulpturen aus Pagan*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 1897). Duroiselle's print (Pl. LXXX c of his article), as well as our own, are taken from Grünwedel's work.

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(b, c) Above the capitals of the pillar-niches, on each side of the pedimented arch framing the recess, are two deep niches for images. The empty one on the right (we think provisionally with Phayre) originally housed the *stone Viṣṇu* (a), now in Berlin. The one on the left (the S. side) still holds the "figure riding on a bird", which Phayre could see but dimly in the gloom. It is made of brick and plaster, and shows the four-armed Viṣṇu seated in *padmâsana* on a single lotus, borne on the back of a beaked and winged Garuḍa. Viṣṇu's hands appear to hold their usual attributes: *cakra* (top right), conch (top left), emblic myrobalan fruit (?, lower right), and dagger or mace (lower left). Photographed from below – see (b), *Neg.* 1083 of 1912–13, the god's *jaṭāmukuṭa* is reduced to the size of an *uṣṇīṣa*; which led Duroiselle to identify it with Viṣṇu's *Buddha Avatāra*. Our photograph (c), taken from the same level as the image, shows that this theory is, to say the least, improbable. See *ASI* 1913, Pl. LXXIX (f) and pp. 138–9.

(d) *Seated image of Śiva*, in brick and plaster, in the top right corner of the main recess – the only one of the three members of the Hindu Trinity still remaining there. He sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus. He has four arms: the upper left holds the Mallet, the lower left the Dagger (or Mace ?); the upper right may have held the Trident. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

The left edge of the print shows also a left upper hand holding a Conch: this is all that remains of the central deity, Viṣṇu.

(e) Ten intertwisted tails of *Śeṣa*, the *Ananta* serpent, still left on the right side of the main image-recess, about 7 ft. above the cement floor. This is all that remains of the main *Anantaśayin* image of the temple, apart from the traces of the Hindu Trinity above.
First noted, identified, and photographed by Col. Ba Shin.

Plate 148. *3 brick images of Viṣṇu. Stone images of Śiva and Sūrya.*

(a, b, c) On the S., W., and N. faces of the central mass, set in shallow niches, are lifesize brick images of the standing four-armed Viṣṇu. They were once, perhaps, the most beautiful brick images in Pagán. But all three are now headless and mutilated. The image on the S. face seems to hold at least 3 of the usual attributes: *cakra*, *śaṅkha* and *gadā*.

(a) the image against the S. face.
Neg. 1079 (1912–13). Cf. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LXXX (a) and p. 138.

(b) the image against the W. face.

(c) the image against the N. face. Around this image were painted about 16 large panels (8 on each side), showing seated haloed figures, with shoulder-gnomons. There were probably similar paintings on the W. face; possibly also on the south.

(d) *Stone image of the standing four-armed Śiva.*
Height 5 ft. 10 in. Breadth 1 ft. 11 in. Thickness at base (including the double lotus): 1 ft. 3 in.
Phot. Tin Oo. Cf. *Neg.* 385 (1905–06). Text, Ch. XI, p. 215.

This image, too, was found by Crawfurd (1826) and Phayre (1855) lying on the floor of this temple. It now stands, repaired, on the E. side of the N. door of Pagán Museum. For a photograph of this image before repair, see V. C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and other cities of the past in Burma* (London, 1907), p. 273. For a description of this image and comments by Duroiselle and Dr. Ray, see *ASB* 1913, p. 19 and Pl. II (1). *ASI* 1913, p. 139. Ray, *Brahm. Gods....*, pp. 59–60, 91 and Pl. XVI 21.

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(e) *Stone image of Sūrya*, still *in situ* in the last of the ten niches of the outer-lower corridor of the temple, just on the right (N. side) as one mounts the E. steps to the inner corridor.

Neg. 1088 (1912–13). Text, Ch. XI, pp. 208–210.

First correctly identified by Ray, *Brahm. Gods*...., pp. 42–43 and Pl. X 14. Duroiselle had carefully described it, but left it unindentified (*ASI* 1913, p. 138 and Pl. LXXIX e).

For Bengal standing images of Sūrya, the Sun God, cf. N. K. Bhattasali, ... *Dacca Museum*, Pls. LVII b, LVIII, LX, LXI a, b. R. D. Banerji, *E. Indian School*....., Pl. 59.

Plate 149. *Stone images of 6 Avatāras of Viṣṇu.*

See Text, Ch. XI, pp. 221–2.

Ref. Duroiselle, *ASI* 1913, pp. 137–8 and Pl. LXXIX (a, b, c, d). Dr. Ray, *Brahm. Gods in Burma*, pp. 40–42, 43–45, and Pls. VIII 9, 10; IX 11, 12; XI 15, 16. Avatāras I and II are missing.

(a) III. *Varāha-avatāra.* The Boar, with rescued *Pṛthivī* on his left shoulder.
S. face, near S.E. corner.
ASI 1913, Pl. LXXIX (a). *Brahm. Gods*..., Pl. VIII 9.

(b) IV. *Narasiṁha-avatāra.* The Man-Lion, tearing *Hiraṇyakaśipu.*
S. face, near S.W. corner.
ASI 1913, Pl. LXXIX (d). *Brahm. Gods*...., Pl. VIII 10.

(c) V. *Vāmana-avatāra.* The Dwarf, holding the brahman's waterpot (*kamaṇḍalu*).
W. face, near S.W. corner.
Brahm. Gods...., Pl. XI 15. Correctly identified by Dr. Ray (pp. 43–44, 91).

(d) VI. *Balarāma Halâyudha*, Rāma the Plough-weaponed.
W. face, near N.W. corner.
Brahm. Gods...., Pl. XI 16. Wrongly identified with Kalki-avatāra (pp. 44–45, 91).

(e) VII. *Rāmacandra, Dāśarathi Rāma*, with Bow.
N. face, near N.W. corner. *Neg.* 369 (1905–06).
ASI 1913, Pl. LXXIX (b). *Brahm. Gods*....., Pl. IX 11.

(f) VIII. *Paraśu Rāma*, with Battle-axe and Club.
N. face, near N.E. corner. *Neg.* 1084 (1912–13).
ASI 1913, Pl. LXXIX (c). *Brahm. Gods*....., Pl. IX 12.

Avatāras IX and X are missing. *Sūrya* (Pl. 148 e) takes the place of X.

MYIN-PYA-GU TEMPLE.

Plates 150 to 152. S. of the city wall, ¼ mile S. of Păhtothămya. See Text, Ch. XIV, pp. 292–294.

Measurements: – Height 83 ft. Exterior: – Length from E. to W. 128 ft. Length from N. to S. 104 ft. Length of bay 27 ft. Depth of bay 7 ft. 8 in. Length of W. Hall-Porch 19 ft. 7 in.
N. chapel: – 13¼ ft. (E. to W.) 13½ ft. (N. to S.).
S. chapel: – 12 ft. 11 in. (E. to W.). 12¾ ft. (N. to S.).
E. chapel: – 13 ft. 9 in. (E. to W.). 13¼ ft. (N. to S.).

Plate 150.

(a) View from the S.W., as it was before repairs.

Film and Stage Dept. phot. Cf. *Neg.* 2258 (1921–22), for its appearance after clearing of the jungle.

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(b) Detail of the inner wall of the Corridor.
Film and Stage Dept. phot.
Note the wooden beams resting on the tops of the trefoil niches; the paintings of Gandharvas/ Apsarasas below the beams; above the beams, the row of stupas with flowering lotus-plants between; and the 'frieze' of floral arabesque.

Plate 151.

(a) View from S.SW., in 1957 after repairs. The only entrance is through the W. projection, on the left side of the print.
Neg. 7291 (1957–58).

(b) Section from W. to E.
Note the skylights admitting a little light, across the clerestorey, to the small images in the depths of the four tunnels, under the massive stupa.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

(c) Plan of the cave-temple.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

(d) Elevation and Section of one of the trefoil Buddha-niches.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

(e) Tier of seated Buddhas, preaching or touching Earth, each attended by two saints, apsarasas above. – Painting on outer wall of corridor (probably E. side, near N.E. corner) in the spandrel of the ceiling-arch.

(f) Stone Tenon carved on one end in the likeness of a Buddha-head. – Found in the S. chapel, on the outer side of the Corridor. Such stone tenons were made to interlock with the brickwork of a colossal image.

Plate 152.

(a) Life-size brick image of the Earth-touching Buddha seated under the seven-headed Mucalinda Nāga. – Within a trefoil niche on the W. Corridor. Flying Devas in spandrels above the top of the niche.

(b) One of the little guardian-lions between the Buddha-niches. There are also double-bodied lions at the four inner corners of the Corridor.

(c) Damaged image in one of the niches, of Gotama seated in *dhyāna mudrā*, practising austerities.

(d) View of the inner sides of the Corridor, from the S.W. corner.

(e) Row of four Earth-touching Buddhas seated in niches.
All 5 photographs taken by Lavaud.

Plate 153. PAUNGGU STONE SCULPTURES. Now at Pagán Museum.
See Text, Ch. XIV, pp. 294–295.
For a new Five-Buddha votive tablet, recently recovered from the site, see Pl. 61 (e). For views of the Paunggu ruin, see *Negs.* 2774, 2775 (1926–27).

(a) A Bird-Elephant. [phot. Lavaud]

(b) Two fierce Monkey-Men, four-armed and four-legged, with weapons (or attributes: *vajra* Thunderbolt and *pāśa* Noose?). [phot. Lavaud]
Cf. *Neg.* 1536 (1915–16). Height 8 in. Length 12½ in.

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(c) Three Bird-Elephants, father, mother and child (?).
Height 5¾ in. Length 13¾ in. *Neg.* 1535 (1915–16).

(d) Two standing figures (the one on the right headless), clapping hands and clashing cymbals (?).
Height 5½ in. Length 3½ in. *Neg.* 1538 (1915–16).

(e) Seated Drummer and Cymbalist.
Height 5¼ in. Length 5¼ in. Cf. *Neg.* 7361 (1957–58).

(f) Three *Kinnara* (Bird-Men) playing transverse flutes.
Height 5¼ in. Length 10 in. *Neg.* 1537 (1915–16).

(g, h) Two stone Lions, now placed to left and right of the N. entrance to Pagán Museum.
Height 20 in. Breadth 11 in. Length at base 18 in. [phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 154. GU BIZAT-GYI. GU BIZAT-NGÈ

See Ch. XIV, p. 296.

These two old neglected temples of Pagán city, stand in the N.W. sector, W. of the road running N. from Mahābodhi temple to the riverbank.

(a) *Gu Bizat-gyi*, "Big Gu Bizat", viewed from the S. [phot. Tin Oo]
An early Mon 'symmetric' temple. The ruinous part with two archways on the right side of the print, is a later accretion.

(b) Ground-Plan (excluding later accretions). [drawn by Bo Hlaing]

(c) *Gu Bizat-ngè*, "Small Gu Bizat", viewed from the S.E. [phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Ground-Plan. [drawn by Bo Hlaing]

PĀSĀDA ZEDI, No. 789

Plate 155. (called *Hsin-pya-gu* on the Burmese map of Pagán). Height 96 ft.

See Ch. XIV, p. 296.

(a) View from the W. (the original front, now fallen in). The original top of the great śikhara must have been about 100 ft. high. [phot. Tin Oo]

(b) View from S.SE. (with outer wall and windows of the corridor still mostly standing). [phot. Ba Shin]

(c) Ground-Plan (the outer wall on the west, now lost, presumably included the gate, or gates, of entrance). [drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plates 156, 157. MON TEMPLE W. OF TAUNGBI CIRCULAR BRICK TANK, a little beyond the N.E. corner of Pagán city-wall.

See Ch. XIV, pp. 297–298.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Hall 24½ ft. Length of Shrine 37 ft. 10 in. Breadth 37 ft. 9 in. Interior: – Length of Hall 13 ft. 10 in. Length of Shrine 26½ ft. Breadth of Hall 16 ft. 3 in. Breadth of Shrine 26½ ft.

Plate 156.

(a) View from the S.E. (the śikhara on the right of the print, belongs to a different temple, N. of the Mon one). [phot. Tin Oo]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) View from the S.W. [phot. Ba Shin]

(c) Mon horizontal *clec* or pediment, framing the E. recess of the central block. [phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Painting of *kinnara* in the N. recess of the central block, on the W. side of the colossal seated Buddha. [phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 157.

(a) Cross-section of the Mon temple. [drawn by Bo Hlaing]

(b) Ground Plan. [drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plates 158 to 167. PĂHTO-THĂMYA TEMPLE.

The temple stands facing E., inside Pagán city near the S. wall, on the W. side of Nat-hlaung-gyaung. See Ch. XV, pp. 302–309.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length 139 ft. (E. to W.). Breadth 91 ft. (N. to S.). Height 84 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 52 ft. Breadth of Hall 64¼ ft. Length of main block 87 ft. (E. to W.). Interior: – Corridor: 63 ft. (N. to S.); 65 ft. (E. to W.). Hall: Length 32½ ft. (E. to W.). Breadth 27 ft. 11 in. (N. to S.). Shrine: Length (to reredos of side image) 28⅓ ft. Breadth of Front of Shrine 23½ ft. Total breadth (Recess to Recess) 34 ft. Length from W. of Hall to E. of Shrine 23 ft. 10 in.

Plate 158.

(a) View from due N. *Neg.* 5433 (1953–54).

(b) View from due S. [phot. Tin Oo] Cf. *Neg.* 252 (1904–05).

Plate 159.

(a) View from W.NW. [phot. Mrs. Schofield]

(b) Another view from N.W. [Film and Stage Dept. phot.]

Plate 160.

(a) Side view from S.SE. Cf. *ASI* 1914, Part I, Pl. XII (a).

(b) Back view from W.SW. [Arch. phot.]

(c) Front view, from due E. [Film and Stage Dept. phot.]

Plate 161.

(a) Longitudinal Section. *Neg.* 5516 (1953–54).

(b) Ground-Plan. *Neg.* 5515 (1953–54).

(c) Plinth details of Păhtothămya, Dhammayan-gyi, and Kubyauk-gyi. [Drawn by Rangoon University Students of Architecture]

Plate 162.

(a) Elevation of the temple. *Neg.* 7717 (1953–54).

(b) Elevation of the N. face of the roof. [drawn by Mya Maung of Arch. Surv.]

Plate 163. (full pl.).

Ground-Plinth and perforated windows, W. face, from S.W. corner. [Film and Stage Dept. phot.]

Plate 164.

(a) Window in inner wall of S. Corridor. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(b) Central recess in inner wall of W. Corridor. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(c) Elevation and Section of railing of upper terrace. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

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Plates 165–167. *Paintings*: –

Plate 165.

(a) King seated in prayer. – W. roof-shrine, N. wall. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(b) Minister seated in prayer – S. roof-shrine, W. wall, upper tier. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(c) Minister seated in prayer – N. roof-shrine, W. wall. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(d) Minister seated in prayer – S. roof-shrine, E. wall. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

Plate 166.

(a) Gotama's Tonsure. Outer wall of N. corridor. [phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Two Ministers in prayer – W. roof-shrine, S. wall. [Arch. Surv. drawing]

(c) Drummer – S. roof-shrine, W. wall, lower tier. *Neg.* 7400 (1957–58).

(d) Dancing girl – S. roof-shrine, W. wall, lower tier. *Neg.* 7401 (1957–58).

Plate 167.

(a) *Kāḷadevala's prophecy.* – Outer wall of S. corridor, 5th panel, E. of 2nd window-embrasure, W. of the Nativity panel. *Neg.* 3565 (1932–33).

Length 48½ in. Height 45 in. Height above floor nearly 4 ft.

Underline in Old Mon: –

‖ wo' kāl risi kāladevila lṅor bodhisat tirley byādes sdas kyek ‖ ‖

"This is when the hermit Kāḷadevala [Asita] worships the Lord Bodhisattva, and prophesies that he will become a Buddha."

See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIX (a), and Part I, p. 192: – "The figure at the right corner, somewhat defaced, probably represents the old ṛishi's nephew *Nālaka*, who afterwards took up, at his uncle's advice, the life of a *Śramaṇa*" ... Cf. Text, Ch. IX, p. 159.

(b) *Twin Miracle at Kapilavatthu.* – S. recess of Shrine, E. wall, on the E. side of the S. window, about 10 ft. S.E. of the Buddha's throne. *Neg.* 3566 (1932–33). Length 65 in. Breadth 28½ in. Base of panel 6 ft. 9 in. above the floor. The Old Mon underline is fragmentary: –

‖ o ‖ wo' kāl kyāk buddha tirla' poy..... ḍe(ḥ)..... (smiṅ suddhoda)na ku karḱo(m) smiṅ sākyawaṅsa guṁliṅ ‖ ‖

"This is when our Lord the Buddha..... he..... king Suddhodana and the assemblage of all the princes of the Sākyan family."

See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIX (b), and Part I, p. 192: – "He is exhibiting the *yamaka pāṭihāriya* to curb the pride of his kinsmen. Here again the Sakyas, Buddha's kinsmen, are seen clad in cloaks with geometrical pattern covering the whole body."

Cf. Text, Ch. IX, p. 175. This is not the Great Miracle of Sāvatthi, but the Twin Miracle as performed by the Buddha on his return to Kapilavatthu in the year after his Enlightenment. On this occasion he preached the *Vessantara Jātaka*.

Plate 168. (full pl.). THARABA GATE, PAGÁN.

See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 310–311, and Ch. I, n. 17. The main gate of the city, facing E. towards Nyaung-u. In front, to S. and N., are the vaulted shrines and brick and stucco images of the Mahāgiri spirits ('Nats') of Mt. Popa – Brother (Maung-daw) and Younger Sister (Hnama-daw). For their legend, see *Glass Palace Chronicle* (transl.), § 117, pp. 45–46. [phot. Tin Oo] Cf. Film and Stage Dept. phot. 2072. *Pict. Guide*, p. 30. See *ASB* 1914, Pl. III, fig. 1, and para 9, pp. 3, 27.

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Measurements: – Max. present height: N. side, E. bastion 24 (+) ft. W. bastion 21¾ (+) ft. Max. length, E. to W. (excluding Shrines) 47 ft. 10 in. Length of Shrines 11½ ft. Max. breadth, N. to S., of gate proper: 43½ ft. Min. internal breadth across roadway 15 ft. Max. internal breadth (at central archway) 24¼ ft.

Plates 169 to 183. SHWÉ-ZIGÔN PAGODA.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 267–276.

I should date this first great pagoda of king Kyanzittha *c.* 1086 A.D., shortly after his accession. Now heavily gilded it stands near the riverbank 3 miles N.E. of Pagán, a little N. of the road before it enters Nyaung-u.

Height about 112 ft. Breadth at square base 164 ft. 5 in. Breadth at top terrace 112 ft. 5 in. Circumference at base of *aṇḍa* 224 ft. 9 in. For its appearance as it was in 1899, see Thomann, *Pagan*, Pl. 62.

Plate 169. (full pl.). View from S.E., towards. the river.

[phot. kindly supplied by U Saw Thwin, schoolmaster, Pagán]

Plate 170.

(a) View from S.SW. [phot. taken by U Han Mya of Chauk, and kindly supplied by U Saw Thwin]

(b) Site-Plan. [drawn and revised by U Htwé Sein]

Plate 171.

(a) View from E.SE. [phot. U Saw Thwin, Pagán]

(b) View from S.SE. (as it was several years ago). *Neg.* B 111.

(c) View from outside the N.E. corner of the enclosure-wall. [Film and Stage Dept. phot. 4144]

(d) View from E.NE. [Dagôn Photo Studio, Nyaung-u]

Plate 172.

(a, b, c, d) *Kyanzittha's Old Mon inscription* (*c.* 1102 A.D.).

See Text, Ch. IV, pp. 57–59.

A-A on Site-Plan (Pl. 170 b). This is the most important extant inscription in Old Mon. Though not the longest, it is the clearest and the most complete. The late Dr. C. O. Blagden's editing of it, in *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. I, Part II, No. 1, pp. 90–129, is the chief basis of our knowledge of the old language. The 8 faces on the 2 pillars are numbered A to H. An incomplete, and now fragmentary, duplicate was kept by Kyanzittha at his new palace at Pagán.

Measurements. Pillar I (S. of the E. approach). Height 9 ft. Breadth of top line: 2 ft. 1½ in. (E. face). 2 ft. 5½ in. (N. face).

Pillar II (N. of the E. approach). Height 8 ft. 2 in. Breadth of top line 2 ft. 2½ in. (E. face). 2 ft. 1 in. (N. face).

(a) Pillar I. N. side. Face B.
Epig. Birm. I, II, Pl. V and pp. 96–98 (text), 115–8 (transl.).

(b) Pillar II. N. side. Face F.
Epig. Birm. I, II, Pl. VII, and pp. 105–8 (text), 124–6 (transl.).

(c) Pillar I. N. side. Face B, lines 26 to end.
Epig. Birm. I, II, pp. 97–98, lines 26–54 (text); 117–8 (transl.).

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(d) Pillar I. W. side. Face C, lines 1 to 22.
Epig. Birm. I, II, pp. 98–99, lines 1 to 22 (text), 118–9 (transl.).

(e) *Plinth-Details* of 5 terraces of Shwezigôn pagoda.
[Drawings by Bo Gyi, Jack Min, Kin Maung Yin and Tin Htoon, Rangoon University, Students of Architecture]

Plate 173. *Four colossal bronze standing Buddhas in the four gandhakuṭī.*
See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 274.

(a) Image of Kassapa Buddha in S. *gandhakuṭī*. Height about 12 ft., excluding lotus pedestal. Cf. *Neg.* 1634 (1916–17). *ASB* 1917, Pl. I (A).

(b) Image of Gotama Buddha in W. *gandhakuṭī*. Height 12 ft. 10 in., excluding lotus pedestal. Now gilded all over. The feet are of stone, the rest bronze.

(c) Image of Kakusandha Buddha (?) in N. *gandhakuṭī*. Height 13 ft., excluding pedestal.

(d) Image of Koṇāgamana Buddha in E. *gandhakuṭī*. Height 13 ft.
Cf. *Neg.* 1636 (1916–17).

Plates 174, 175. *Jātaka plaques on the 3 terraces.*
See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 269–274.
Average height of plaque 13½ in.
Average breadth of plaque 14½ in., but with a good deal of variation.

Plate 174.

(a) No writing, but the scene should be *Baka Jātaka* No. 38. Note the crab holding the crane's neck.
Mid. terrace, E., 15th pocket S. of centre.

(b) ‖ *Sappasāhari Jāt* [*110*] – Sabbasaṁhāraka Jātaka, No. 110.
Bottom terrace, E., 18th from N.E. corner.
Neg. 1204 (1913–14).

(c) ‖ *Baka Jāt 2*(*36*) – Baka Jātaka, No. 236.
Mid. terrace, E., 5th S. of centre. Height 15 in. Breadth 14 in.
Cf. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LIII (18) and p. 102.

(d) *Guttila Jāt* | *243* – Guttila Jātaka, No. 243.
Mid. terrace, E., 12th S. of centre.
Neg. 1205 (1913–14).

(e) | *Maṇigantha Jāt 253* – Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka, No. 253.
Mid. terrace, E., 4th from S.E. corner.
Neg. 1206 (1913–14).

(f) | *Seyya Jāt* | *282* | – Seyya Jātaka, No. 282.
Mid. terrace, S., 2nd W. of centre.
Neg. 1209 (1913–14).

Plate 175.

(a) *Culakūṇāla Jāt* | *463* – Cūḷakuṇāla Jātaka, No. 464.
Upper terrace, S., 3rd E. of centre.

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(b) ‖ ‖ *Nemī Jāt* ‖ *544* ‖ – Nimi Jātaka, No. 541.
Upper terrace, E., 4th S. of centre.

(c) ‖ *Mahosatha Jāt* | *545* | – Mahā-ummagga Jātaka, No. 546.
Upper terrace, E., 5th S. of centre. Height 14¼ in. Breadth 14⅝ in.
Mahosadha is seen rubbing Kevaṭṭa's face in the dust.

(d) Writing obscure. Jātaka not identified.
Bottom terrace, N., 3rd from N.E. corner.
Neg. 1203 (1913–14).

(e) Post-Pagán writing. Jātaka not identified.
Neg. 1208 (1913–14).

(f) ‖ *Kassapamaṇḍi Jāt* ‖ *312* – Kassapamandiya Jātaka, No. 312.
Bottom terrace, W., 4th from N.W. corner. Height 13½ in. Breadth 14¼ in.
The top line of writing is not shown on the print, but the Jātaka number is clear. Judged by the writing, this is a Hpetleik plaque in origin.

Plate 176. *Images of Spirits.*
See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 275–276.

(a, b) Standing image in gilded wood of the Bo-bo-gyi Nat, i.e. Indra, king of the Sakrā Devas (two aspects). He stands facing W., in the E. shrine of the building honsing the 37 Nats (or Lords, Pali *nātha*), within the outer enclosure-wall, between the E. entrance and S.E. corner (E on Site-Plan). Total height, from feet to top of diadem: 8 ft. 8 in.
Cf. *Neg.* 6261, 6262 (1955–56).

(c, d) Gilded stone images of two sea-spirits, the Nats Shwé Zăga and Shwé Myo-zin, son and father, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana* in a special shrine near the S.W. corner of the pagoda platform (F on Site-Plan). The son is shown above, the father below. They are commonly called *Ahpa-htet-thá-tă-la-gyi*, "Son, one month older than the Father". For the story, see Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 275–6.

(e, f) Standing stone images, ten-armed, of *Dvārapālas* at the S. entrance (W. and E. sides) of the enclosure-wall (H-H on Site-Plan).
See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 276.
W. image – Height 6 ft. 10 in. Max. breadth 2 ft. 7 in.
E. image – Height 6 ft. 10 in. Max. breadth 2 ft. 10 in.

Plate 177. *Stone Lions* at the far end of the W. approach to the pagoda, 478 ft. beyond the enclosure-wall (D, on extreme left of Site-Plan). In 1922–23 there were 2 stone lions. See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 274, and Duroiselle, *ASB* 1923, p. 12, and Pl. II, figs. 2 and 3.

(a) *Neg.* 2307 (1922–23). North Lion as seen from the S.E.
Max. height 4 ft. 9 in. Length (tail to forefoot) 4 ft. 7 in.
Max. breadth (at breast) 2 ft. 6 in.

(b) *Neg.* 2305 (1922–23). North Lion as seen from the S.W.

(c) *Neg.* 2306 (1922–23). North Lion as seen from the N.W.

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(d) *Neg.* 2308 (1922–23). South Lion as seen from the N.W.
Max. height 4 ft. 10½ in. Length (tail to forefoot) 4 ft. 6 in.
Max. breadth (at breast) 2 ft. 6 in.

Plates 178 to 182. *Carved Wooden Door formerly in N. gandhakuṭī.*
Now in a 'tazaung' on the E. side of the S. approach. See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 275, and Duroiselle, *ASB* 1923, pp. 12–13.

Plate 178. (full pl.) The carved wooden Door of the N. *gandhakuṭī*, as Duroiselle found it in 1922. Both leaves joined. *Neg.* 2309 (1922–23). The carved portion has a total height of 12 ft. Thickness 3 in. Breadth of the two door-leaves: 2 ft. 10 in. and 2 ft. 3½ in.

Plate 179.

(a) Dancing girl, running. Centre panel öf door. The figure alone, with its beaded border, measures 8 in. high by 6½ in. broad.
Neg. 2310 (1922–23). Cf. Duroiselle, *ASB* 1923, Pl. III, fig. 2, and p. 12: "The middle piece consists of a half-naked figure dancing in an antique fashion. Here although the right leg which is bent has been placed a little too high in the air, the whole pose is quite natural and artistic."

(b) Conch-player. Middle panel in 2nd tier from top.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

Plate 180.

(a) Player on the Clappers. Left side panel, middle tier.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

(b) Drummer. Right side panel, middle tier.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

Plate 181.

(a) Dancing girl, posed. Left side panel, 2nd tier from top.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

(b) Drummer. Top left corner panel.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

Plate 182.

(a) Oboe-player (1922). Top right corner panel.
Neg. 2311 (1922–23).

(b) Dancer-Cymbalist (?) (1960). Left side panel, bottom tier but one.

(c) Buffalo-horn player (1960). Right side panel, bottom tier but one.

(d) Dancing girl with sword and shield (1960). Middle panel, top tier.

(e) Oboe-player (1960). Top right corner panel.
Cf. (a), the same panel as it was in 1922.

(f) Dancing girl in flying backkick (1960). Right side panel, top tier but one.

Plate 183. (full pl.). *'Kalágyaung', Indian Monastery*, 100 yds. S. of Shwézigôn pagoda, about 50 ft. E. of the S. approach. Viewed from E.SE. – See Text, Ch. XII, pp. 249–251.
[phot. Film and Stage Dept. 2068]

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NAGAYÔN TEMPLE.

Plates 184 to 206. S. of Myinpagan, on the E. side of the road.

Built by king Kyanzittha *c.* 1090 A.D. (?). See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 311–321.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length 137 ft. Breadth 82 ft. 3 in. Breadth of Hall 53 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 46 ft. Length of Shrine 91 ft. 7 in.

Interior: – E.-W. corridor 61 ft. N.-S. corridor 70 ft. 3 in. Breadth of Hall 25 ft. From wall of Shrine to Porch 46 ft.

Plate 184. (full pl.). View from N.W.
[phot. Lavaud]

Plate 185.

(a) View from due W.
[phot. Lavaud]

(b) View from due S.

(c) View from W.SW.

(d) View from N.E.

Cf. *Neg.* B/195. *Pict. Guide*, p. 53. Film and Stage Dept. phot. 3903.

Plate 186.

(a) Front Elevation (N. face).
[Arch. Drawing 453]

(b) Longitudinal Section.
[Arch. Drawing 454]

(c) Ground-Plan.
[Arch. Drawing 455]

Cf. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 56, Pl. VI (a).

Plate 187. *Roof, Śikhara and Windows.*

(a) Roof and Śikhara from S.W. corner.

(b) Roof and Śikhara from due W.

(c) Roof and Śikhara from N.W. corner of main block.

(d) Windows: S. face, 1st from S.W. corner.

(e) Windows: S. face, 2nd and 3rd from S.W. corner.
[phot. Lavaud]

(f) Windows: S. face, 2nd from S.W. corner.

Plate 188. *Ground-Plinth and profiles.*

(a) From S.W. corner – W. side.

(b) From S.W. corner – S. side.

(c) Hall and N. half of main block, seen from W.

(d) Side view of Hall, as seen from W.

(e) N. end of Hall and Porch, seen in profile from W.

(f) Profile of S. side, from S.W. corner.

Plate 189. *Gates of Enclosure-wall. Stucco-work.*

(a) W. gate of enclosure-wall, front view.

(b) W. gate of enclosure-wall, side view, from the N.

(c) N. Gate of enclosure-wall, S. view. Wooden lintels within. [phot. Tin Oo]

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(d) Stucco-work at N.E. corner of main block.
[phot. U Sein Lay of Pagán.]

Plate 190. *Arching.*

(a) E. side-entrance of Hall, with arching of alternate brick and stone.
[phot. U Sein Lay]

(b) Archway between Hall and Corridor, with Shrine beyond.
[phot. U Sein Lay]

(c) S.W. corner of Hall, with archway to Corridor on left.
[phot. Mon Bo Kay]

(d) For comparison: "Vaults of Mahābodhi temple" [Bodhgayā]. This temple, *Śrī Vajrâsana*, was rebuilt by a mission sent by Kyanzittha, probably before 1098 A.D. See Text, Ch. IV, p. 62. *Ref.* Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, Pl. 52 (B); *Epig. Birm.*, I, II, Inscr. VIII A 4–7.

Plate 191. *Wooden Lintels.*

(a, b, c) Detail of wooden lintels above main entrance to Hall.

(d) Wooden lintels above entrance to Shrine.

(e) Detail of wooden lintel above entrance to Shrine.
Neg. 1046 (1911–12).

Plates 192 to 202. *Images and Stone Reliefs.*

Plate 192.

(a) *Three colossal standing Buddhas in the Shrine.*
Height of central Buddha 18 ft. 4 in. Height of the side-Buddhas over 12 ft. See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 312–3.
Neg. 6252 (1955–56).

(b) *The Enlightenment.* – Stone relief in N. corridor, outer wall, 3rd niche from N.E. corner.
Neg. 6409 (1955–56).

(c) *The Enlightenment.* – Stone relief in N. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from N.E. corner.
Neg. 6415 (1955–56).

Plates 193, 194. *Stone Reliefs in the Hall.*

There are 10 niches for images; only one now vacant. The rest hold sculptures of some of the principal scenes in the Buddha's life, intended mainly perhaps for educational purposes. The Conception and the Parinirvāṇa sculptures are, as usual, broader than the others. But the average size of the many stone reliefs in this temple (most of which contain predellas, which fix the scene) are as follows: – Height 3 ft. 11 in. Breadth at base 1 ft. 8 in. Height of predella $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. All but one are as photographed by Tin Oo.

Plate 193.

(a) *First Sermon.* – N. wall, niche W. of entrance.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 172–3.

(b) *Pārileyyaka retreat.* – N. wall, niche E. of entrance.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 177–8.

(c) *Kāḷanāga and the golden bowl.* – E. wall, 1st niche from N.E. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, p. 166. This relief may date from the later Pagán period.

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(d) *Defeat of the Heretics at Sāvatthi.* – E. wall, 2nd niche from N.E. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 173–5. Cf. *Neg.* 3567, 3568 (1932–33).

Plate 194.

(a) *Descent from Tāvatiṁsa.* – E. wall, 3rd niche from N.E. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 175–7.

(b) *Parinirvāṇa.* – E. wall, 4th niche from N.E. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 180–2.

(c) *The Conception, Dream of Māyā.* – W. wall, 4th niche from N.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 155–7.

(d) *Brahmā Sahaṁpati's request.* – W. wall, 3rd niche from N.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, p. 173.

(e) *Gotama takes seat under Bodhi tree.* – W. wall, 1st niche from N.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, p. 167.
Neg. 6408 (1955–56).

Plates 195 to 202. *Stone Reliefs in the Corridors. The 28 Buddhas.*

Plate 195.

(a) Dīpaṅkara and Sumedha – E. corridor, inner wall, 3rd niche from N.E. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 154–5.
Cf. *Neg.* 3882 (1935–36).

(b) Koṇḍañña and king Vijitāvī. E. corridor, inner wall, 5th niche from N.E. corner.

(c) Maṅgala and brahman Suruci – E. corridor, inner wall, 7th niche from N.E. corner.

(d) Sumana and Atula Nāgarāja – S. corridor, inner wall, 1st niche from S.E. corner.

Plate 196.

(a) Revata and brahman Atideva – S. corridor, inner wall, 3rd niche from S.E. corner.

(b) Sobhita and brahman Sujāta – S. corridor, inner wall, 5th niche from S.E. corner.

(c) Anomadassī and Yakkha king – S. corridor, inner wall, 7th niche from S.E. corner.

(d) Paduma and Lion – W. corridor, inner wall, 1st niche from S. W. corner.
Cf. *Neg.* 3889 (1935–36)

Plate 197.

(a) Nārada and Jaṭila ascetic. – W. corridor, inner wall, 3rd niche from S.W. corner.

(b) Padumuttara and Jaṭila official – W. corridor, inner wall, 5th niche from S.W. corner.

(c) Sumedha and brahman Uttara – W. corridor, inner wall, 7th niche from S.W. corner.

(d) Sujāta and the Cakravartin – N. corridor, outer wall, 3rd niche from N.W. corner.
Cf. *Neg.* 3885 (1935–36).

Plate 198.

(a) Piyadassī and brahman Kassapa – N. corridor, outer wall, 5th niche from N.W. corner.

(b) Atthadassī and Susima – N. corridor, outer wall, 7th niche from N.W. corner.
Cf. *Neg.* 3884 (1935–36).

(c) Dhammadassī and Sakka Purindada – E. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from N.E. corner.

(d) Siddhattha and Maṅgala – E. corridor, outer wall, 3rd niche from N.E. corner.

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Plate 199.

(a) Tissa and Sujāta – E. corridor, outer wall, 5th niche from N.E. corner.

(b) Phussa and Vijatāvī – E. corridor, outer wall, 7th niche from N.E. corner.

(c) Vipassī and Atula Nāgarāja – S. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from S.E. corner.

(d) Sikhī and Arindama – S. corridor, outer wall, 3rd niche from S.E. corner.

Plate 200.

(a) Vessabhū and Sudassana – S. corridor, outer wall, 5th niche from S.E. corner.

(b) Kakusandha and Khema – S. corridor, outer wall, 7th niche from S.E. corner.

(c) Koṇāgamana and Pabbata – W. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from S.W. corner.

(d) Kassapa and Jotipāla – W. corridor, outer wall, 3rd niche from S.W. corner.

Plate 201.

(a) Gotama and Ajita (Metteyya) ? – W. corridor, outer wall, 4th niche from S.W. corner.

(b) Taṇhaṅkara Buddha – N. corridor, inner wall, 1st niche from N.W. corner.

(c) Gotama Buddha seated in *dhyānamudrā* on lotus – W. corridor, outer wall, near N.W. corner.

(d) Gotama takes seat under *Bodhi* tree – W. corridor, outer wall, 5th niche from S. W. corner.
v. Text. Ch. IX, p. 167.

Plate 202.

(a) Standing Buddha – W. corridor, outer wall, 6th niche from S.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 140–2.

(b) Walking Buddha – W. corridor, outer wall, 7th niche from S.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. VIII, p. 143. Cf. *Neg.* 3888 (1935–36).

(c) Sujātā's offering to Gotama – N. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from N.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, pp. 165–6. Cf. *Neg.* 3886 (1935–36).

(d) Soṭṭhiya's offering of grass to Gotama – N. corridor, outer wall, 2nd niche from N.W. corner.
v. Text, Ch. IX, p. 167. This relief may date from the later Pagán period.

Plates 203 to 206. *Paintings on outer wall of Corridor.*
General height of main panels: 5 ft. 4 in. Breadth: about 7 ft.
Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 318–321.

Plate 203.

(a, b) *Sumedha lies at the feet of Dīpaṅkara.* (E. corridor).
[phot. Tin Oo.] Text, Ch. XVI, p. 318. No. 22.

Plate 204.

(a, b) *Earthquake when Sumedha "grasps the Law".* (E. corridor).
[phot. Tin Oo.] Text, Ch. XVI, p. 318. No. 23.

Plate 205. (full pl.) *King Kusa's elephants, horses and chariots,* Jātaka 531. (E. corridor).
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.] Text, Ch. XVI, p. 318. No. 25.

Plate 206.

(a, b) *Battle-scene in Sonananda Jātaka 532.* (W. corridor).
[phot. Tin Oo.] Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 319–320. No. 42.

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ABÈYADANA TEMPLE.

Plates 207 to 241. S. of Myinpagan, on the W. side of the road. Built by Kyanzittha's chief queen, Abèyadana. See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 321–344.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length 106 ft. Breadth 63 ft. 10 in. Breadth of Hall 58 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 41 ft. 2 in. Length of Shrine 64 ft. 10 in.

Interior: – N.-S. Corridor 48 ft. 2 in. E.-W. Corridor 46 ft. 7 in. Length of Hall (N.-S.) 24 ft. 3 in. Breadth of Hall (E.-W.) 25 ft. 9 in.

Ref. Fergusson and Spiers, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910 Ed.), Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI and p. 343. *ASB* 1915, pp. 4, 42, 44. *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, pp. 43–44, 181–184; Part II, Pl. XVIII (a), CI–CIV.

Plate 207. (full pl.). View from due W.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 208. (full pl.). View from due S. (back of temple).
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]
Cf. *Neg.* 3308 (1930–31) and *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. XVIII (a).

Plate 209. (full pl.). View from S.E. corner (Sitlè pagoda in left foreground).
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]

Plate 210.

(a) View from N.E.
[phot. Lavaud]

(b) View from N.NE. after repairs.
Neg. 5472 (1953–54).

(c) View from S.SW. after repairs.
Arch. phot.

(d) Sitlè pagoda, a few yards S. of the temple, near its S.E. corner, on the old enclosure-wall. [phot. Tin Oo] *v.* Text, Ch. XIII, p. 279 and n. 99. For its appearance in 1905–06, see *Neg.* 368; *ASI* 1906, p. 133, fig. 4.

Plate 211. *Śikhara and Windows.*

(a) Top terraces and Śikhara, from due S.

(b) S. face, W. window.

(c) S. face, central window.

(d) W. face, N. window.

(e) W. face, central window.

(f) W. face, S. window.
Cf. *Negs.* 1044, 1045 (1911–12), E. face, S. and central windows.

Plate 212. *Details of the Exterior.*

(a) Close-up of W. face, main block.

(b) W. profile, from S.W. corner.

(c) S. profile, from S.W. corner.

(d) Close-up of S. ground-plinth, from S.E. corner.

(e) Plinths of Hall and W. side-entrance.

(f) Close-up of S. ground-plinth, from S.W. corner.

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Plate 213.

(a) Longitudinal Section and Ground-Plan.

Cf. Arch. Dept. Drawings 77 (1905–06) Plan; 78 (1905–06) Longitudinal Section; 243 (1911–12) Ground-plan; 846 (1940–41) Elevation of plinth.

(b) Plinth-moulding (probably S.E. corner of main block).

[Arch. Surv. drawing]

Plates 214 to 226. *Inner wall of Corridor.*

Plate 214.

(a) N. wall. Entrance to Shrine. Main image and queen Abèyadana.

(b) N. wall. Broad niche (for sculpture of Māyā's Dream), on E. side of entrance to Shrine.

(c) N. wall. Broad niche (for sculpture of the *Parinirvāṇa*), on W. side of entrance to Shrine.

(d) E. wall-profile. Strong plinth. 6 pedimented niches, with 7 Tondo-paintings in between.

(e) S. wall-profile. 4 pedimented niches with 4 Tondoes. Śikhara-niche in centre, between panels of Mārā's army, attacking and retreating.

(f) W. wall-profile, similar to E. wall. 6 pedimented niches, with 7 Tondo-paintings in between.

Plate 215.

(a) N. wall, seen in perspective from N.E. corner; entrance to Shrine in centre, Niche of the Conception in left foreground, Parinirvāṇa niche in the distance on the right.

(b) *The Enlightenment* (stone relief in N. corridor, outer wall, 1st niche from N.E. corner).

Neg. 6429 (1955–56).

(c) *The Enlightenment* (stone relief in E. wall of Shrine, 1st niche from N.E. corner).

Neg. 6431 (1955–56).

(d) S. wall. Central Śikhara-niche, which once, no doubt, held a large seated image of the Buddha, with paintings of Mārā's army to left and right, attacking and retreating.

(e, f) Queen Abèyadana (2 aspects), in brick and plaster. Seated in prayer on the right (the proper left) of the main image in the Shrine. There was probably another seated figure on the left (the proper right of the Buddha), now ruined.

Plate 216.

(a) Colossal brick-and-plaster image of the Earth-touching Buddha in the Shrine, with queen Abèyadana seated below in prayer.

[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Pedimented niche on inner side of W. corridor near S.W. corner. Painted Tondo on each side of the pediment.

[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]

Plate 217. *Paintings*: –

(a) *Robing of Queen Māyā*, Part of the Conception-Dream. Wives of the 4 Mahārājas in attendance. (N. wall, on W. side of broad niche E. of entrance to Shrine).

[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) *Pregnancy of Queen Māyā* (on E. side of the same niche). Embryo visible in Māyā's womb. Height 11¾ in. Breadth 8¾ in.

[phot. Tin Oo]

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1936, Pl. XXXI (b) and pp. 77–78: "a purely Mahāyānist conception."

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(c) Outline drawing of the same scene.
Neg. 5576 (1954–55).

(d) E. wall. One of a tier of panels showing a lady (? Māyā) with left or right knee raised; she has a bowl of lotus in her lap, and is seated between maids rolling face-powder (bark of *Murraya paniculata* ?) on a stone tray with metal stand. Each panel measures 7 in. high by 1 ft. broad.
[Arch. drawing]

Plate 218. Tier VII. *Daṇḍadīp-worshippers*: –

(a) Tier VII. Daṇḍadīp-worshippers: – Kings and Ministers.

(b) Tier VII. Daṇḍadīp-worshippers: – Queens and Court-ladies.

(c) Tier VII. Daṇḍadīp-worshippers: – Monks and Boys with top-knots.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plates 219 to 223. – *18 Tondoes*, on W., E., and S. inner walls of Corridor:
See Text; Ch. XI, pp. 222–227; Ch. XVI, p. 326.

There are 7 Tondoes each on the W. and E. walls: their 14 deities all moving N., as if to pay their respects to the main Buddha in his Shrine. On the S. wall there are 4 Tondoes, 2 on each side: their 4 deities turning inwards towards the Buddha in the central Śikhara-niche (now empty). The diameter of each full tondo is about 14 in., plus 3½ in., of border. The 6 set against the corner-pilasters lose about ¼ of their perimeter.

Plate 219. 6 Outline-drawings of the painted Tondoes (Arch. Surv.): –

(a) Tondo 1. *Brahmā*, two-armed, riding the *Haṁsa* or Wild Goose.
W. wall, near N.W. corner (¾ tondo). Cf. phot. *Neg.* 3307 (1931–32), 5332 (1953–54).

(b) Tondo 2. *Śiva*, two-armed, riding the Bull, Nandin.
W. wall, between 1st and 2nd niche. Cf. *Neg.* 3423 (1931–32), 5333 (1953–54).

(c) Tondo 3. *Viṣṇu*, four-armed, riding *Garuḍa*.
W. wall, between 2nd and 3rd niche. Cf. *Neg.* 3424 (1931–32), 5334 (1953–54).

(d) Tondo 4. Devī, the wife of Śiva, on *Siṁha*, the Lion. She has four arms.
W. wall, between 3rd and 4th niche.

(e) Tondo 5. Six-armed deity, riding a charging elephant.
W. wall, between 4th and 5th niche.

(f) Tondo 6. Two-armed king, riding a Monkey (*Rāma* on *Hanumān* ?).
W. wall, between 5th and 6th niche.

Plate 220.

(a to f) The same 6 Tondoes on the W. wall, photographed.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 221. 7 Outline-drawings of other Tondoes: –

(a) Tondo 7. Four-armed god (*Revanta* ?) riding the Horse.
W. wall, near S.W. corner (¾ Tondo).

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(b) Tondo 9. *Indra*, two-armed, riding the White Elephant, *Airāvata*.
E. wall, between 1st and 2nd niches (from N.E. corner).
(phot. of coloured drawing)

(c) Tondo 12. The river-goddess *Yamunā* (Jumna), four-armed, riding the Tortoise (*Kūrma*).
E. wall, between 4th and 5th niches.
Neg. 3307 (1930–31), 5337 (1953–54).

(d) Tondo 13. The river-goddess *Sarasvatī*, four-armed, riding the *Haṁsa*.
E. wall, between 5th and 6th niches.

(e) Tondo 15. Four-armed deity riding *Kinnara*.
S. wall, near S.E. corner (¾ tondo).

(f) Tondo 16. *Yama*, four-armed, riding the Buffalo.
S. wall, between 1st and 2nd niches.

(g) Tondo 18. Four-armed deity, riding the Eagle (?), with Cormorant in attendance.
S. wall, between 3rd and 4th niches.

Plate 222. – 6 Tondoes, on W. and E. walls, photographed.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(a) Tondo 7. *Revanta* (?), four-armed, riding the Horse. Cf. Pl. 221 (a).
W. wall, near S.W. corner (¾ tondo).

(b) Tondo 8. *Īśāna* on the Bull (?).
E. wall, near N.E. corner (¾ tondo).

(c) Tondo 9. *Indra* on *Airāvata*, the White Elephant. Cf. Pl. 221 (b).
E. wall, between 1st and 2nd niches.

(d) Tondo 10. *Agni*, four-armed (?), riding the Goat (*Chāga*).
E. wall, between 2nd and 3rd niches.

(e) Tondo 11. Two-armed god riding the black-horned Buffalo.
E. wall, between 3rd and 4th niches.

(f) Tondo 12. The river-goddess *Yamunā*, four-armed, riding the Tortoise. Cf. Pl. 221 (c).
E. wall, between 4th and 5th niches. *Neg.* 5337 (1953–54).
First identified by Ray (*Skt. Buddh. in Burma*, p. 57, n. 3, ano fig. 23).

Plate 223. – 6 Tondoes, on E. and S. walls, photographed.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(a) Tondo 13. The river-goddess *Sarasvatī*, four-armed, riding the *Haṁsa*. Cf. Pl. 221 (d).
E. wall, between 5th and 6th niches.

(b) Tondo 14. The river-goddess *Gaṅgā* (Ganges) two-armed, riding on *Makara* (Capricorn).
E. wall, near S.E. corner (¾ tondo).

(c) Tondo 15. Four-armed deity riding *Kinnara*. Cf. Pl. 221 (e).
S. wall, near S.E. corner (¾ tondo).

(d) Tondo 16. *Yama*, four-armed, riding the Buffalo. Cf. Pl. 221 (f).
S. wall, between 1st and 2nd niches.

(e) Tondo 17. *Varuṇa* (?), four-armed, riding on *Makara* (Capricorn).
S. wall, near S.W. corner (¾ tondo).

(f) Tondo 18. Four-armed deity riding the Eagle (?), with Cormorant in attendance. Cf. Pl. 221 (g).
S. wall, between 3rd and 4th niches.

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Plate 224.

(a, b, c, d). *Celestial musicians* in clouds (4 specimens) on either side of the Buddha-niches, above the tondoes. There are 15 pairs of such musicians altogether, on the E., W., and S. inner walls of the Corridor.

Max. breadth 1 ft. 8 in. Height 1 ft. 1 in. Text, Ch. XVI, p. 326, n. 22.

Plate 225. *Māra-dharṣaṇa.* Paintings on the S. face of the inner wall, on either side of the central Śikhara-niche. Breadth 11 ft. 8 in., including the niche; 3 ft. 9 in. on each side of the niche. Height 3 ft.

(a) Māra and his monsters attacking (on the left, W. panel).

(b) Māra and his monsters retreating (on the right, E. panel).

[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 226.

(a) *Kyāk Śrī,* seated in *padmâsana,* holding stalks of flowering lotus, in the apex of the pediment above window in outer wall of corridor (W. side, near S.W. corner). Though the Elephants of Gaja Lakṣmī are gone, the fountainous idea remains.

Cf. *Neg.* 3425 (1931–32), "sketch from a painting above a window.... near the S.E. corner of the Corridor".

(b) Six-armed *Deva,* richly dressed, standing on a halo-maned *Vyāla* (leogryph), squatting front-face on a three-headed Elephant. Of the six arms, the upper two hold half-open lotuses; the middle pair are in *namaskāra mudrā*; the lower two are hidden behind the back. The top piece (shown separately on the left) connects these figures with the base of the Tondo above: see the left side of Pl. 216 b. – Such figures occur between pediment-niches on the E., S. and W. sides of the inner wall of the Corridor.

Height of Deva/Vyāla/Elephant 3 ft. 7½ in. Height of top piece 1 ft. 9 in.

[phot. of Arch. Surv. paintings]

Plate 227. (full pl.). *Outline drawing of a section of paintings on the outer wall of the Corridor.*

See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 327 ff.

The total height of painted wall-surface is about 14½ ft. The section chosen by the artist of the Burma Arch. Survey is on the S. side of the Corridor, between the central and the W. window, on either side of the medial niche. It omits only the flaked floral bands at the bottom, about 3 ft. 2 in. in height. The drawing gives an excellent idea of the planning of this whole outer wall: viz. the Ascent to Buddhahood (Tāntric-Mahāyānist), in 5 stages.

As 'second subject' to this "Great Career", the beauty of the "Lower Career" seems symbolized by the richly storeyed Stupas framing the lower medial arches, and the Gandharvas/Apsarasas bringing their music thither. Above the upper arches, it is seen, they transfer their music from the Stupa to the new Buddha in the full height of his attainment.

Neg. 3426 (1931–32). *Pict. Guide,* p. 71. Ray, *Sansk. Buddh.....* fig. 16.

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Plates 228, 229. *1st (Lowest) Tier. Bodhisattvas seated in ardhaparyaṅkâsana.*

See Text, Ch. XVI, p. 328.

Originally 38 of these Bodhisattvas were painted along this lowest tier, 10 on each face except the North, the side of entrance, where there were only 8. About 35 remain. Height of panels 2 ft. 2¾ in. Breadth 1 ft. 7¼ in.

Plate 228.

(a) E. wall, No. 2 (2nd from N.E. corner). Outline copy.
Neg. 3298 (1930–31), 8034 (1957–58).
Cf. Pl. 229 b (photograph).
See Ray, *Sansk. Buddhism*....., fig. 18 and pp. 60–61, 115. In the Text I query his identification.

(b) E. wall, No. 4 (4th from N.E. corner). Outline copy.

(c) E. wall, No. 10 (near S.E. corner). Outline copy.

(d) S. wall, No. 4 (4th from S.E. corner). Outline copy.

(e) S. wall, No. 7 (near S.W. corner). Outline copy.
Cf. Pl. 229 a (photograph).

(f) W. wall, No. 6 (6th from S.W. corner). Outline copy.
Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CI (a), and Part I, p. 181. See also Ray, *Sansk. Buddhism*....., fig. 26, pp. 60, 116. In the Text I challenge his identification.

Plate 229.

(a) S. wall, No. 7. Phot. by Tin Oo.
Cf. Pl. 228 (e), Outline Copy.

(b) E. wall, No. 2. Photograph.
Neg. 3298 (1930–31), 8034 (1957–58). Cf. Pl. 228 (a), Outline Copy.

Plate 230. *2nd Tier. Bodhisattvas seated in lalitâsana on lotus, between worshipping Devas.*

See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 328–9.

Some 40 'royal Bodhisattvas' are painted along this 2nd Tier, 10 on each wall. About 36 survive. They sit weaponless, like *Lokanātha*, in pose of royal pastime, hands generally in *varada mudrā*, though *abhaya*, *dharmacakra* and perhaps other *mudrās* occur. Set between arch-spandrels, they now have room to admit worshippers.

Height (much the same as the 1st Tier) 2 ft. 2¼ in. Breadth 1 ft. 10¾ in.

(a) N. wall, No. 10, near N.E. corner. Phot. of coloured drawing (Arch. Surv.).
Seated Lokanātha pose (*varada mudrā*, with climbing half-blown lotus).

(b) W. wall, perhaps No. 3 from S.W. corner.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) E. wall, No. 4 from N.E. corner. Outline copy.
Seated Lokanātha pose, but lotus full-blown.
Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CI (b), and Part I, pp. 181–2. Ray, *Sansk. Buddhism*....., fig. 21, and pp. 59, 115.

(d) S. wall, No. 3 from S.W. corner. Outline copy (Devas omitted).
Lokanátha pose. Lotus half-blown. The Book (?) above the lotus was not noticed by Col. Ba Shin. Perhaps this is the best preserved painting in this tier, especially for ornaments and

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clothes: wristlet-gauntlets studded with pearls; triangular armlets of gold and pearl; grey and gold double epaulettes; 3 pearl necklaces below golden torque; no anklets or boots; striped loincloth, white, brown and blue, with vertical band over the loins. Double lotus-seat, with 4 tiers of overlapping petals.

(e) S. wall, No. 4 from S.E. corner. Outline copy.
Lokanātha pose. Lotus half-faded.

Plates 231 to 237. *3rd Tier. Caves.*

See Text, Ch. XVI, pp. 329–344.

This Cave-Tier runs continuous, binding all four walls. The panels are small: about 13½ in. high (excluding the 4½ in. floral band above them), and 11¾ in. in breadth. There are about 30 panels each on the E., S., and W. walls, and probably more on the N. – about 128 altogether, of which 109 are still more or less visible. They appear to present (not always in chronological order) a number of different episodes, from Jātakas and other Indian folklore, especially relating to Hermits; but Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās, and especially Tāntric deities appear, and perhaps the birds and animals that stand or perch on the cave-tops may be significant. A serial list of the Caves, including these *lāñchana*, is given in the Appendix to Ch. XVI, based on a careful study made by Col. Ba Shin. Our illustrations include 49 outline copies, 1 direct photograph, and 5 photographs of coloured copies. Note that the outline copies, beautifully made by the Burma Archaeological Survey, often omit the *lāñchana* shown on top of the Caves. And where the picture is faint or damaged, there is room for difference of opinion about the details.

Plate 231. *Caves* (i). 9 outline-copies.

(a) N. wall, Cave No. 5 (5th E. of entrance-arch).
Lāñchanas omitted (see Appendix to Ch. XVI, List 5). The Monk's attitude is shown as *vitarkamudrā*. Ba Shin calls its *dharmacakra*.

(b) N. wall, Cave No. 8 (4th from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see Appendix, List 8). Ba Shin adds another Monkey, weeping (?), with left hand on forehead, seated below the dying Hermit's elbow.

(c) N. wall, Cave No. 9 (3rd from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas indistinct. Ba Shin adds a Monkey in front (to left) of the elder boy, kneeling in *namaskāra mudrā*.

(d) E. wall, Cave No. 13 (2nd from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted. See List 13.

(e) E. wall, Cave No. 16 (5th from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 16).
Neg. 5343 (1953–54). *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CII (b), and Part I, p. 182. Ray, *Sansk. Buddh.* ....., fig. 20, and p. 115. Śyāmā Tārā (?).

(f) E. wall, Cave No. 17 (6th from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 17).

(g) E. wall, Cave No. 20 (9th from N.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 20). *Tārā* dark brown, six-armed.
See *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CII (c), and Part I, p. 82.

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Ray, *Sansk. Buddhism*....., fig. 19, and p. 115: "Śakti..... Six hands, two on two sides in *varadamudrā*, one on the right in *tarjarīmudrā*, others in *mantramudrā*. Ornaments: *mukuṭa*, *hāra*, *keyūra*, *valaya*, *mekhalā*, *kuṇḍala* and printed skirt." Half-blown lotuses in top hands not shown.

(h) E. wall, Cave No. 22 (5th N. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 22). The kneeling figure, threatened by the Hermit (*tarjanīmudrā*), is a hunter, with bow on his left shoulder. Hermit sits on black panther-skin.

(i) E. wall, Cave No. 24 (3rd N. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 24). *Śyāmā Tārā* dark brown. Variegated shawl from left shoulder across body.

Plate 232. *Caves* (ii). 9 outline-copies.

(a) E. wall, Cave No. 34 (8th S. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 34). Note headdress of the hermit, *Vaccha*. He is refusing the *Kinnarī*'s request.
See *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka* (Fausböll, *The Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 422; Cowell's transl. Vol. VI, p. 217). U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 183.

(b) E. wall, Cave No. 36 (10th S. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 36). Note *Vaccha*'s 'two-horned' headdress. He is accepting the *Kinnarī's* proposal.

(c) E. wall, Cave No. 37 (11th S. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 37). Family life – *Vaccha*, the *Kinnarī*, and two children. Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIII (b).

(d) E. wall, Cave No. 38 (12th S. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 38). *Vaccha* kills the Spider. His left hand appears to hold a second stick. Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIII (a).

(e) E. wall, Cave No. 39 (13th S. of central window, 1st N. of S. window).
No lāñchanas visible. 3 *Kinnarī* facing left in *mantramudrā*. Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CII (d).

(f) S. wall, Cave No. 42 (nearest to S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 42). Bodhisattva brandishing *vajra*. Left leg hanging. Left hand on knee in *varadamudrā*.

(g) S. wall, Cave No. 45 (4th from S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 45). Lion crouched in cave, with reverted head.

(h) S. wall, Cave No. 46 (5th from S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 46). Hermit stroking deer.

(i) S. wall, Cave No. 48 (7th from S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 48). There is a snake on the left side of the roof, as well as the right. Four-armed *Tārā* seated in *lalitâsana*.

Plate 233. *Caves* (iii). 9 outline-copies.

(a) S. wall, Cave No. 49 (8th from S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 49). Colour of Bodhisattva muddy-white. Mouse in his left hand doubtful. Cf. photograph at Pl. 237 f.

(b) S. wall, Cave No. 50 (9th from S.E. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 50). Appears to be part of the story of *Vaccha* and the Spider – the

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negociation *via* a human go-between. Ba Shin is doubtful whether the figures on the sides of the Cave are spiders, or merely decorative designs.

(c) S. wall, Cave No. 52 (5th E. of central window).
Lion couchant, facing right. Below him, a small animal, possibly a dog. Ba Shin cannot see the 'spiders' at the sides of the Cave, but notes a wriggling snake on the right side.

(d) S. wall, Cave No. 53 (4th E. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 53). Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIII (c). *Neg.* 5342 (1953–54).

(e) S. wall, Cave No. 54 (3rd E. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 54). Tāntric god, two-armed, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, left knee raised. Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CIII (d).

(f) S. wall, Cave No. 56 (on E. side of central window).
Lāñchana on left side of roof omitted (see List 56); there is none on the right. Hermit with 'single horn' headdress, holding human face in right hand.

(g) S. wall, Cave No. 58 (2nd W. of central window).
The Monkey in the left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, is facing a large Stork. Note the unusual attitude of the beautiful Bodhisattva – sitting sideways, as if lifted by blue lotuses, left shin on right thigh, glancing gaily to the right, hands in *dharmacakra mudrā*.

(h) S. wall, Cave No. 59 (3rd W. of central window).
Śyāmā Tārā in black-spotted trousers, hands in *dharmacakra mudrā*, seated in *lalitâsana*. – Is this *Mahāśrī Tārā* ?

(i) S. wall, Cave No. 60 (4th W. of central window).
In the left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, besides the Pheasant, there is an Elephant-head facing outward with trunk rampant. Hermit with 'two-horned' headdress threatens (*tarjanī mudrā*) the Monkey seated facing him.

Plate 234. *Caves* (iv). 9 outline copies.

(a) S. wall, Cave No. 61 (5th W. of central window).
In the left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, the Archer is shooting at a Stork in palm tree at the junction of the previous Cave. The seated Buddha wears a dark-brown robe.

(b) S. wall, Cave No. 62 (6th W. of central window).
In the right lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, the Elephant is double-headed. Seated Tāntric god, carrying woman (?) spreadeagled across his back. See Ray, *Sansk. Buddhism.....*, p. 59.

(c) S. wall, Cave No. 63 (7th W. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 63). Monk's right hand is thought to be in *tarjanīmudrā*, threatening. The maned lion is muddy white in colour.

(d) S. wall, Cave No. 65 (9th W. of central window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 65). The four-armed Tāntric figure has tushes. His lower left hand holds a staff. Wriggling snakes on either side of the Cave.

(e) S. wall, Cave No. 66 (10th W. of central window).
The outer hands of both seated saints are in *vitarka mudrā*. The one on the left has his inner hand in *mantramudrā*. He is presumably the senior.

(f) S. wall, Cave No. 67 (3rd E. of W. window).
The six-armed Tāntric god, in his lowest left hand, holds an arrow, not a dagger.

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(g) S. wall, Cave No. 68 (2nd E. of W. window).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 68). *Aśvamukhī* seated, hands on knees. – I take this (see Text, p. 330) to be the fellow of Cave No. 100, both illustrating the *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka*, No. 432.

(h) S. wall, Cave No. 70 (2nd W. of S.W. corner).
Right lāñchana shows a small Deer (*not* Hare), turning inward with reverted head. There is no lāñchana on the left. The Tāntric king sits in *namaskāra mudrā*.

(i) S. wall, Cave No. 71 (near S.W. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 71). The six-armed deity standing on the corpse, I take to be the Hindu goddess *Cāmuṇḍā* (see Text, p. 332).

Plate 235. *Caves* (v). 9 outline copies.

(a) W. wall, Cave No. 72 (in S.W. corner).
Hermit with Dog and Monkey.

(b) W. wall, Cave No. 73 (2nd from S.W. corner).
Left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, shows a Parrot in front and Stork behind, facing outward. There is no lāñchana on the right, because of the window. The hermit's hands rest on his knees, not in *varada mudrā*. There is a wriggling snake in the Cave.

(c) W. wall, Cave No. 77 (6th from S.W. corner).
Lāñchanas omitted (see List 77). The Bodhisattva sits between two lotuses, open on the right, half-open on the left. His right hand holds a lotus stalk before the body.

(d) W. wall, Cave No. 78 (7th from S.W. corner).
Hermit sits on tiger-skin, with right leg extended, for Monkey to extract thorn from sole (?).

(e) W. wall, Cave No. 80 (9th from S.W. corner).
Left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, shows a tuskless Elephant-head; the right one, a hornless Barking Deer. The Buddha appears to have beard and moustache.

(f) W. wall, Cave No. 81 (10th from S.W. corner).
Right lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, shows a striped tiger facing inwards. The Hermit holds, not a bird, but a pot with neck, in his right hand.

(g) W. wall, Cave No. 84 (3rd S. of central window).
Left lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, shows a Bird flying out, above and behind the tuskless Elephant-head. The *Śyāmā Tārā* is correct.

(h) W. wall, Cave No. 86 (on S. side of central window).
The drawing omits the right lāñchana – a fierce Tiger, according to Ba Shin, turned outwards, with reverted head gaping. The Tāntric king is correct.

(i) W. wall, Cave No. 87 (on N. side of central window).
Right lāñchana, according to Ba Shin, shows an emaciated Hermit, with 'two-horned' headdress, on roof of Cave, facing inwards. The Bodhisattva is correct.

Plate 236. *Caves* (vi). 4 outline copies.

(a) W. wall, Cave No. 88 (2nd N. of central window).
Lāñchana: – on the left, a horned Deer facing inwards; on the right, a Hunter (with topknot) shooting, with bow and arrow. The Buddha here has a conical *uṣṇīṣa*.

(b) W. wall, Cave No. 93 (7th N. of central window).
Mahāśrī Tārā (?), seated in *lalitâsana, dharmacakra mudrā*.

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(c) W. wall, Cave No. 100 (1st N. of N. window).
Lāñchana: – on the left, head of maned Lion; on the right, a crested bird with reverted head. Four-armed *Aśvamukhī* eating gobbets of human flesh. Her young son, wearing a coronet – the Bodhisattva – is questioning her. See *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka*, No. 432, and compare Cave No. 68.

(d) W. wall, Cave No. 101 (in N.W. corner).
Three-headed Elephant (central face human) seated in *padmâsana* on double lotus. He has a rounded hairy *uṣṇīṣa*. The Elephant-head (e.g. of Gaṇeśa) is a symbol of wisdom. Is the triple Elephant-head a symbol of the All-Wise, the Buddha? Or else, of Indra, sometimes shown as riding on a three-headed elephant? Compare the centre panel of the thrones of the colossal Buddhas in the E., S., and N. Shrines of Nanda temple, and elsewhere.

Plate 237. *Caves* (vii). 5 coloured drawings and a photograph.

(a) E. wall, Cave No. 29 (3rd S. of central window).
Two-armed goddess (?), without coronet, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, doing her hair. Query *Vasundharā*, the Earth-goddess?

(b) E. wall, Cave No. 40 (2nd from S.E. corner).
Six-armed goddess (?), without coronet, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*. Her top right and left hands hold Dagger and Discus. The bottom left hand holds a staff knobbed at the base. She wears a jacket variegated with black spots. There are no lāñchana.

(c) S. wall, Cave No. 43 (2nd from S.E. corner).
No lāñchana. Right side of Cave missing. On the left, a hermit with 'two-horned' headdress, holding 2 ladles.

(d) W. wall, Cave No. 76 (5th from S.W. corner).
Śyāmā Tārā (?), two-armed, seated in *lalitâsana*, left leg hanging. The right lāñchana appears to be a Lion-, or Wolf-, rather than a Boar-head.

(e) W. wall, Cave No. 99 (on S. side of N. window).
There is no right lāñchana. The left shows a small bird facing inwards. The six-armed goddess holds in her lower right hand a lantern or casket, in the lower left (according to Ba Shin) a sort of bottle with neck. In the bottom right corner is a box on a carved stand.

(f) S. wall, Cave No. 49 (8th from S.E. corner). Photograph. With this photograph, compare the outline drawing at Pl. 233 (a). The left lāñchana shows a short-horned Barking Deer (without spots) running outwards; the right lāñchana a tusked Elephant-head with trunk.

Plates 238, 239. *4th Tier. Standing Bodhisattvas.*

See Text, Ch. XVI, p. 333.

The Bodhisattvas – we may call them Avalokiteśvara – stand about 2 ft. 8 in. high, above the central band, between the upper niches and windows (see Pl. 227). The upper parts of these walls are far worse preserved than the lower: so of the original total – perhaps 36 Bodhisattvas – only about 28 are more or less visible. Those on either side of the S.W. corner are the best preserved. We include 2 direct photographs, 1 photograph of a coloured drawing, and 3 outline copies.

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Plate 238.

(a) Standing Bodhisattva on W. wall, between 1st and 2nd upper niches, as one goes N. from S.W. corner.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) A larger view of the same figure – Bodhisattva bends, and the straight jet to Buddhahood.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Standing Bodhisattva on the S. wall, between the niches W. of the central window.
[phot. of coloured drawing, Arch. Dept.] See also Frontispiece of Vol. III.

Plate 239.

(a) Outline copy of standing Bodhisattva on W. wall, between S. window and 1st upper niche.
[Arch. drawing]

(b) Outline copy of standing Bodhisattva on W. wall, between 2nd and 3rd upper niches N. of S. window.
Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CII (a), and Part I, p. 182.
[Arch. drawing]

(c) Outline copy of standing Bodhisattva on W. wall, between central and N. windows, 5th and 6th upper niches (?).
[Arch. drawing]

Plate 240. *5th (Topmost) Tier. Buddhahood attained.*
See Text, Ch. XVI, p. 334.
There may have been 50 Buddhas in this tier originally, mostly rising direct above the standing Bodhisattvas below them. Few remain today – about 17 in part, only about 6 fairly complete, on both walls near the S.W. corner.

(a) Copy of painting. S. wall, between 6th upper niche and top of W. window.

(b, c) Two of the Buddhas, photographed direct.
[Tin Oo]

Plate 241. (a–f). Paintings of Dancers and Drummers in alternate plinth-panels of the inner wall of Corridor.
[5 drawings by Mya Maung of Arch. Dept.]

(a) *Neg.* 7373 (1957–58) – Drummer.
(b) *Neg.* 7348 (1957–58) – Photograph of 2 panels, with diamond-panel in between.
(c) *Neg.* 7369 (1957–58) – Dancer.
(d) *Neg.* 7371 (1957–58) – Drummer.
(e) *Neg.* 7372 (1957–58) – Dancer (with noose).
(f) *Neg.* 7370 (1957–58) – Dancer (head lost).

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Plate 242. At foot of Mt. Tuywin.
See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 345–347.
Built by Kyanzittha, perhaps *c.* 1096 A.D. or earlier, entirely of stone. Now destroyed. For Taw Sein Ko's dating, see *A.S.B.* 1906, p. 8.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(a) *Neg.* 405 (1905–06). E. view of the library ('Setkudaik') as it was in 1905.

(b) A rough measured plan of the building, made by the author in 1918–19, with the N. wall in ruin. [Mya Maung, Arch. Dept.]

(c) All that remains of it today – one stone brick from the pilaster of the E. window, with bead-and-egg carving. Now at Pagán Museum.
Length 12½ in. Breadth 8½ in. Thickness 3¾ in.

SHWE-CHAUNG KUBYAUK-NGÈ.

Plates 243 to 245. On E. bank of the Shwe Chaung, a furlong S. of the Pagán – Nyaung-u road.
See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 347–349.

Measurements. Exterior: – Height 90 ft. Length 120½ ft. (Main block 73½ ft., and Hall 47 ft. Breadth 71 ft. Breadth of Hall 54¾ ft.
Interior: – Main block: 55⅓ ft. (E. to W.) × 53⅔ ft. (N. to S.). Length of Hall and Porch and archway: 30 ft. 7 in. Breadth of Hall 24⅔ ft.

Plate 243.

(a) N. face, from N.W. corner.
Neg. 5379 (1953–54).

(b) W. face.
[Arch. phot.]

(c) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 244.

(a) Śikhara, E. face (Bodhgayā type).

(b) S. face, from S.SW.

(c) E. entrance-archway.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 245.

(a) *Kīrtimukha* frieze, W. face.
[Arch. phot.]

(b) W. face (S. half).
[Arch. phot.]

(c) N. face, N.W. corner, cornice.
Neg. 5382 (1953–54). Cf. *Pict. Guide*, p. 69.

(d) Taming of Nālāgiri elephant – Painted brick-and-mortar carving.
(W. wall, S.W. corner-niche).
[phot. Tin Oo]

MON GU 418 (gh).

Plates 246, 247. S.E. of Lokananda.
See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 349–352.
This small temple stands W. of the main road, N. of Sittana, some 3 miles S. of Pagán. All the writing within it is Old Mon. Faces E.

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Plate 246.

(a) View from the S.E. before repairs.
[Arch. phot.]

(b) View from the S.E. after repairs.
[phot. Ba Shin]

(c) View from the N. after repairs.
Neg. 00166 (a), 1961–62.

(d) Vista through side-windows of the Shrine.
[phot. Lavaud]

(e) Ground-Plan.
[Htwé Sein, Arch. Dept.]

Plate 247.

(a) Painting on S. wall of Hall (*Vejayanta pāsāda* ?).

(b) Painting on S. wall of archway between Hall and Shrine.
("*Salla jāt*", ? Kāma Jātaka, No. 467, preceded by Samuddavāṇija Jātaka, No. 466).

(c) S. window, W. side of pediment, with reverted *Makara* and *Vyāla*.

(d) Stucco-carving (now lost ?).

(e) N. window, E. side of pediment, with reverted *Makara* and *Vyāla*.

(f) N. window, W. side of pediment, with reverted *Makara* and *Vyāla*.

MYÉBÔNTHA PAYA-HLA.

Plates 248 to 251. ¼ mile N.E. of Shwéhsandaw pagoda. Faces E. Two-storeyed. See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 352–353.

Measurements. Exterior: – Total length 95½ ft. Length of main block (E. to W.) 51 ft. 7 in. Length of Hall 33 ft. Length of Porch 11 ft. Total breadth (W. end) 48 ft. Breadth of Porch (N. to S.) 24 ft. 10 in.

Interior: – Length of Hall 23¼ ft. Breadth of Hall 22⅓ ft. Length of Porch (from Hall to entrance) 19 ft. 2 in. Length of Corridor (E. to W.) 37½ ft. Breadth of Corridor (N. to S.) 33 ft. 7 in. Central mass (E. to W.) 14¾ ft. (N. to S.) 14½ ft.

Plate 248.

(a) View from the N.E. (Shwéhsandaw in the distance on the left).
[phot. Lavaud]

(b) View from the S.W. corner.
[phot. Lavaud]

(c) View from due S.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 249

(a) View from the S.E.
[Arch. phot.]

(b) S. wall, E. window of main block.
[Arch. phot.]

(c) S. wall, two windows with plinth and cornice.
[phot. Lavaud]

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(d) Brahmā throne, E. face, before clearance.
[phot. Lavaud]

(e) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 250. *Perforated Stone Windows*: –

(a) W. side, centre window.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) W. side, all three windows.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) S. side, S.E. corner of main block.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) N. side, E. window of main block.

(e) S. side, W. window of main block.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(f) N. side, central window of main block.
[phot. Tin Oo]
The stone is 4 ft. 8 in. high, and 3 ft. 8½ in. broad.

Plate 251. *Brahmā Throne*: –

(a) E. face.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) E. face, close up of S. side.

(c) A single *Brahmā*.
[phot. Bo Kay]

(d) W. side, 3 *Brahmās*.
[phot. Tin Oo]

HLAING GU 130.

Plates 252, 253. 100 yards N.E. of Alôpyi' temple. See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 353–354.
Another two-storeyed 'Mon' temple.
Measurements. Exterior: – Total length 86¼ ft. Length of Shrine 49 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 37 ft. 3 in. Max. Breadth 45 ft.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 35 ft. Length of Hall 24 ft. 9 in. Length of Hall and Porch 38 ft. Breadth of Shrine 32 ft. Breadth of Hall 21 ft. 7 in.

Plate 252.

(a) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) View from the N. (ruinous).
[Arch. phot.]

(c) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 253.

(a) Image-recess on E. side of central block.
[phot. Lavaud]

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(b) *Makara-Śrī* pediment of E. image-recess.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) *Makara-Śrī* pediment-facing of W. archway of Hall.
[phot. Tin Oo]

HLAING-SHÉ GU 251.

Plates 254, 255. Near Nabèdaw, ¼ mile S.E. of Alôpyi' temple.
See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 354–355.

Measurements. Exterior: – Total length 84½ ft. Length of Shrine 46 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 38½ ft. Breadth of Shrine 45 ft. Breadth of Hall 34½ ft.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 35¾ ft. Length of Hall 20⅓ ft. Length of Hall and Porch 38 ft. Breadth of Shrine 34 ft. Breadth of Hall 17½ ft.

Plate 254.

(a) Back-View, from the S.W.
Neg. 2736 (1926–27).

(b) W. face of Śikhara.
Neg. 2738 (1926–27).

(c) Ground-Plan
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

(d) Perforated stone window on N. side of Hall.

Plate 255.

(a) Entrance-archway on the E.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Perforated stone window, W. face.
Neg. 2737 (1926–27).

GU 201, S. of Hsu-lé-gôn.

Plates 256, 257. E. of the Shwe Chaung (half-excavated).
See Text, Ch. XVII, pp. 355–356.

Plate 256.

(a) View from the S.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) S. recess of main block, with hard stucco carving.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Seated Bodhisattva enshrined in S. recess.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 257.

(a) Peak of S. recess.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Detail of S. recess.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Peak of N. recess.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 44 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 38¾ ft. Total Length 82¾ ft. Breadth 44 ft. Breadth of Hall 37¾ ft.

Interior: – Length of Shrine 31¼ ft. (E. to W.). Length of Hall and Porch 38 ft. Length of Hall 20⅔ ft. Breadth of Shrine 29¾ ft. (N. to S.). Breadth of Hall 20⅓ ft.

Plate 258 (a, b). STUPA S. OF MYINPAGÁN SCHOOL, S.E. of Nanpaya. (2 aspects).

See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 279.

Height 25½ ft. *Aṇḍa, harmikā* and *chattrâvali* are similar to those of the Abèyadana temple near by (Pl. 211 a).

(a) phot. Tin Oo.

(b) phot. Khin Maung Zaw.

Plate 258 (c). SIN'PĂHTO, "Glazed Pagoda", a few yards W. of Alôpyi' temple, S.E. of Htilominlo.

See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 277.

Cf. *Neg.* 6741 (1956–57).

Height 51 ft. Breadth at base; about 64 ft. square.

Plate 259. (a, b). ENCASED STUPAS.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 280–281.

(a) Encased stupa on the riverbank, ¼ mile N. of Taw-ya-gyaung, Thiripyitsaya, ⅓ mile S.W. of Sô-min-gyi pagoda. View from the N.E.

Neg. 3390 (1930–31). See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 178, and Part II, Pl. XCVIII (b). For another encased stupa, "in a field near Thiripyitsaya village", see *ibid.*, Pl. XCVIII (a); and Thomann, *Pagan*, Pl. 50 (as it was in 1899).

(b) PAW-DAW-MU stupa, "Scovell's Pawdawmu", ¼ mile N.NW. of Dhammayan-gyi temple, on the E. side of the road. Formerly encased.

Neg. 1894 (1918–19). See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1919, pp. 31–32, and Pl. I, fig. 1. Height 21½ ft.

SO-MIN-GYI stupa.

Plate 259 (c, d).

(c, d) (2 aspects). S.W. of Nagayôn, on W. side of road.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 277–278.

(c) Corner-View.

Neg. 5475 (1953–54).

(d) Frontal View.

Neg. 3410 (1930–31).

Top lost. Once, perhaps, it was as high as it is broad at the base, about 100 ft. each way. Height to top of central band of *aṇḍa*: 79 ft. Height of top terrace-plinth (only): 15 ft. 4 in. For its state in 1899, see Thomann, *Pagan*, Pl. 41. For its glazed work, see *infra*, Pls. 260–262 (*bis*).

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Plates 260–262 (bis).

So-min-gyi Glazed Work. For the ceramist U Kyaw Nyein's comment on these glazed tiles, see Ch. XIII, p. 278, n. 87. A complete panel may measure up to 26 in. long at top; 18½ in. long at base; 8¼ in. high; 3 to 4½ in. maximum thickness. But the panelling varies.

Plate 260. (a) to (i). 9 glazed panels *in situ* on the pagoda.

Plate 261. (a) to (f). 6 glazed panels *in situ* on the pagoda.

(g, h, i) 3 glazed panels now at Pagán Museum.

Plate 262. (a) to (l). 12 glazed panels now at Pagán Museum, including

(a)	Dancer.	*Neg.* 1513 (1915–16).
(b)	Drummer.	*Neg.* 1514 (1915–16).
(j)	Paroquet.	*Neg.* 1505 (1915–16).
(k)	Spotted Owlet.	*Neg.* 1508 (1915–16).
(l)	Bulbul (?).	*Neg.* 1510 (1915–16).

Plate 262 bis. (a) to (l). 12 glazed panels now at Pagán Museum, including

(a)	Tiger (?).	*Neg.* 1511 (1915–16).
(b)	Monkey.	*Neg.* 1507 (1915–16).
(c)	Elephants..	*Neg.* 1509 (1915–16).
(d)	Wild Pig.	*Neg.* 1512 (1915–16).
(e)	Tortoise.	*Neg.* 1506 (1915–16).
(f)	Maned Lion.	*Neg.* 1504 (1915–16).

Apart from the Archaeological Department Negatives listed above, our photographs were taken by Khin Maung Zaw, who climbed the near-vertical terraces at considerable risk.

Plate 263. (full-pl.). MIN-O-CHANTHA STUPAS, ¼ mile N.E. of Nanda temple.

See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 276–7.

View from the S.W.

The tallest of the 5 stupas in the centre, stands 42¼ ft. high above the top terrace, which is 53½ ft. above the base on the E. side. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1922, pp. 35–36, and Pl. XIX (a).

Plates 264 to 334. NANDA TEMPLE.

Height 160 ft.

See Frontispiece of Vol. I, and Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 357–373.

Plate 264.

(a) Frontal view of the temple (S. face) as it was early in the century.
[Arch. phot., not dated]

(b) Corner-View of the temple as it was in 1903 A.D.
Neg. 94 (1903–04). Cf. Thomann, *Pagan*, Pl. 1 (as it was in 1899).

Plate 265. (full pl.). The temple reflected in the city-moat (after heavy rain).
[phot. U Sein Lay of Pagán]

Plate 266. (full pl.). View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo] Cf. *Neg.* 2660 (1925–26).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Plate 267. (full pl.). Near View, from S.W. corner.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 268. (full pl.). Top terraces and Śikhara, from the S.W.
[phot. Tin Oo] Cf. *Neg.* 2666 (1925–26). *Pict. Guide*, p. 28.

Plate 269.

(a) Section. *Neg.* 5514 (1953–54).

(b) Ground-Plan. *Neg.* 5513 (1953–54).

Arch. Dept. drawings. *Pict. Guide*, pp. 29, 30.

Plate 270.

(a) Section of the inner wall of the outer corridor, showing the arrangement of windows and niches for stone reliefs. Between N. central doors and N.W. corner. – Arch. Dept. drawing.

(b) Plan of the upper terraces, showing the arrangement of niches for terracotta Jātaka-plaques, all glazed green. – Arch. Dept. drawing.

The two lower terraces are lined with the Pali plaques, one per Jātaka, ending with "*Sutasoma jāt 537*" on the N. face of the 2nd terrace, between the N.W. corner and the centre. The *Mahā-nipāta* Mon series, with several plaques per Jātaka, follows at once: – "*In niman Temī 538*"; and so continues to the top.

Cf. Text, Ch. XVIII, p. 359.

(c) Site-Plan of the temple. – Arch. Dept. drawing.

Cf. *Mem. ASI* No. 56, Pl. III.

Plate 271.

(a) Elevation of the W. wing of the central wooden doors on the S. side of the temple. – Arch. Dept. drawing.

Cf. Pl. 274 a, b. (*infra*).

(b) Wooden Railing of the S. Shrine.

Neg. B. 653. – Arch. Dept. drawing.

(c) Plinth details.

[drawn by Rangoon University Students of Architecture]

Plates 272 to 275. *Four Central Wooden Doors*, between Halls and Outer Corridor.

[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 372–373.

Plate 272.

(a) N. Door, E. wing (upper half).

(b) N. Door. E. wing (lower half).

(c) N. Door. W. wing (upper half).

(d) N. Door. W. wing (lower half).

Plate 273.

(a) E. Door. S. wing (upper half).

(b) E. Door. S. wing (lower half).

(c) E. Door. N. wing (upper half).

(d) E. Door. N. wing (lower half).

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Plate 274.

(a) S. Door. W. wing (upper half).
(b) S. Door. W. wing (lower half).
(c) S. Door. E. wing (upper half).
(d) S. Door. E. wing (lower half).

Plate 275.

(a) W. Door. N. wing (upper half).
(b) W. Door. N. wing (lower half).
(c) W. Door. S. wing (upper half).
(d) W. Door. S. wing (lower half).

Plate 276. *Kneeling statues of the donors* – the Mahāthera Arahan and king Kyanzittha. See Text, Ch. XVIII, p. 371.

These face each other on the N. and S. walls of the W. Shrine, on either side of the colossal standing Buddha. Mr. A. B. Griswold has kindly sent me the follg. note on them: – "I asked U Lu Pe Win about the supposed stone statues of Kyanzittha and Shin Arahan in the Nanda. He tells me that my recollection is approximately correct. . . . During the War, after the retreat of the British and before the arrival of the Japanese, some thieves cut off Kyanzittha's nose and a couple of fingers – apparently in the belief that they were solid gold! The matter was reported to U Lu Pe Win, who went immediately to inspect. He found the statue was made of hollow lacquer, with clothing inside (presumably the king's clothing moulded into a kind of core for the lacquer). The clothing disintegrated to dust when touched. So it is definite that Kyanzittha's statue is not stone, but gilded lacquer. Presumably Shin Arahan's is the same, but that is not proved."

(a) *Mahāthera Arahan.* – In the lowest niche, N. wall of the W. Shrine.
Neg. 397 (1905–06). Cf. *Neg.* 5406 (1953–54).
See *ASI* 1914, p. 97 and Pl. XXXVII 58; Duroiselle, *Memoirs ASI* No. 56, p. 13 and Pl. VII 4.

(b) *King Kyanzittha.* – In the lowest niche, S. wall of the W. Shrine.
Neg. 396 (1905–06). *Pict. Guide*, p. 76.
See *ASI* 1914, p. 97 and Pl. XXXVII 57; Duroiselle, *Memoirs ASI* No. 56, p. 13 and Pl. VII 3. Harvey, *History of Burma*, facing p. 40.

Plate 277. *Colossal Wooden Standing Images* of the Buddha in the S. and N. Shrines.
See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. . 370–371.
Cf. Thomann, *Pagan*, Pls. 5, 6 (S. and N. images as they were in 1899).

(a) S. image, representing Kāśyapa Buddha (Kassapa Dasabala).
Neg. 437 (1906–07). Cf. *Neg.* 7318 (1957–58). *ASB* 1917, Pl. I (B).

(b) N. image, representing Krakucchanda Buddha (Kakusandha).
Neg. 7320 (1957–58).
Height (as measured by U Htwe Sein): – 32 ft. 2 in., from top of *uṣṇīṣa* to the feet (excluding the lotus).

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Plates 278 to 297. 80 STONE RELIEF SCULPTURES OF THE LIFE OF GOTAMA UP TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT.

Set in niches of the outer wall of the Outer Corridor of the Nanda.

See Text, Ch. XVIII, p. 367.

A new and complete set of photographs of this famous series has been provided by U Tin Oo. They are listed, with references, below. A few (notably those showing prematurely the Earth-touching Buddha) are clearly intrusive: taking the place, perhaps, of original sculptures which got broken or lost. But the great majority of the stone reliefs in the Nanda appear to belong to Kyanzittha's reign or to a date not long after it. The first 40 of our series fill the lower tier of niches along the four outer walls of the outer corridor. The last 40 fill the upper tier, immediately above. The height of the sculptures ranges from about 39 to 42 inches, the breadth is about 22 inches. References given below are frequently to "D." – that is, Duroiselle's article, "The Stone Sculptures in the Ānanda Temple at Pagan" (*ASI* 1914, pp. 63–97 and Plates XXXI to XXXIX), where most of the scenes are fully and learnedly explained. Most of the scenes are also discussed in Text, Ch. IX, pp. 153–171.

LOWER TIER.

Plate 278.

(a) Niche 1. W. wall, 1st N. of central doors. No predella.

The Devas request Setaketu in Tusita. He sits in his gabled palace in *varadamudrā*, accepting the request, left hand in *abhayamudrā* "Fear not!" Note the *ūrṇā*.

D. Pl. XXXI (1) and pp. 70–72. Cf. *Neg.* 530 (1907–08).

(b) Niche 2. W. wall, 2nd N. of central doors. With predella.

Sleep of Māyā (natural position). Two women seated below.

D. Pl. XXXI (2) and p. 72.

(c) Niche 3. W. wall, 3rd N. of central doors. No predella. Tree behind.

The Four Mahārājas carry her (in hieratic pose) to Himavā.

D. Pl. XXXI (3) and p. 72.

(d) Niche 4. W. wall, 4th N. of central doors. No predella.

Their Queens bathe her, standing, in Anotatta Lake.

D. Pl. XXXI (4) and pp. 72–74.

Plate 279.

(a) Niche 5. W. wall, near N.W. corner. No predella.

They tire her hair and anoint her. She sits in *pralambanâsana* on seat.

D. Pl. XXXI (5) and p. 74. On Pls. XXXVIII and XXXIX D. assembles drawings of the various kinds of hair-dress, *mukuṭa*, ear-ornament, armlet, wristlet, anklet, loin-covering, vases, jars, etc., found in these sculptures.

(b) Niche 6. N. wall, 1st from N.W. corner. With predella.

She sleeps on a divine couch (natural position) in Manosilātala. Two women, with water-jar, below.

(c) Niche 7. N. wall, 2nd from N.W. corner. With predella.

The Conception. Māyā in hieratic pose. White Elephant below her head, about to mount the couch. The four Queens seated below.

D. Pl. XXXI (6) and pp. 74–76.

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(d) Niche 8. N. wall, 3rd from N.W. corner. With predella.

Māyā, kneeling, tells her dream to her husband, king Suddhodana. He sits in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana, abhaya mudrā*, under umbrella. Lady with fan kneels on the right.

D. Pl. XXXI (7) and p. 76.

Plate 280.

(a) Niche 9. N. wall, 4th from N.W. corner. No predella.

Pregnancy. The Four Mahārājas, in the four corners, guard Māyā. She sits in *pralambanâsana* under palace-gable.

D. Pl. XXXI (8) and p. 76.

(b) Niche 10. N. wall, 5th from N.W. corner. With predella.

She asks Suddhodana's leave to visit her parents at Devadaha. The king sits on the left in talking pose. She kneels on the right.

D. Pl. XXXII (9) and p. 76.

(c) Niche 11. N. wall, 1st E. of central doors. No predella.

The Journey by Litter, Māyā borne by 8 (or 16 ?) men: She sits sideways, under umbrella, in talking pose. Cf. Pl. 313 (b), the Bodhisattva on his chariot.

D. Pl. XXXII (10) and p. 76.

(d) Niche 12. N. wall, 2nd E. of central doors. No predella.

The Nativity in Lumbinī *sāla* grove. Holding a branch, Māyā leans on Pajāpatī. Girl attendant on each side. The Babe sits crosslegged on Māyā's right hip. Cf. *Neg.* 541 (1907–08).

D. (pp. 77–78) writes learnedly of the scene; but his illustration (Pl. XXXII, fig. 12) is not our one, but the one in the S. Hall (our Pl. 301 b).

Plate 281.

(a) Niche 13. N. wall, 3rd E. of central doors. No predella.

3 trees behind. Four Brahmās receive the Babe in a golden net. He sits in *dhyāna mudrā*.

D. Pl. XXXII (13) and p. 78.

(b) Niche 14. N. wall, 4th E. of central doors. No predella. Palm-tree behind.

The Four Lokapāla Devas receive him on a black leopard-skin. He sits in *padmâsana*, with hands before the body. in *dharmacakramudrā*.

(c) Niche 15. N. wall, near N.E. corner. No predella. Palm-tree behind.

Two Men receive him on fine white cloth. He sits with hands in *dharmacakramudrā*.

(d) Niche 16. E. wall, 1st from N.E. corner. No predella.

Architecture behind. Gigantic between Brahmā (left) and Indra (right), he stands crowned, facing East. Usually Brahmā, holding the Umbrella, is on the right (the Buddha's left), and Indra, holding his Conch, is on the left (the Buddha's right), Here the positions are reversed, Brahmā taking precedence. D. Pl. XXXII (14) and pp. 78–79.

Plate 282.

(a) Niche 17. E. wall, 2nd from N.E. corner. No predella.

Between Brahmā (left) and Suyāma (right), he takes his Seven Steps. The Deva Suyāma holds a yak-tail fly-whisk.

(b) Niche 18. E. wall, 3rd from N.E. corner. No predella.

His Lion-Roar: "I am the Lord." The three are here standing, not walking.

D. Pl. XXXII (15) and p. 79.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(c) Niche 19. E. wall, 4th from N.E. corner. With predella.

He sits in *padmâsana, dharmacakramudrā*, in Kapilavatthu palace. Flying Devas above, praying women below.

D. Pl. XXXII (16) and p. 79.

(d) Niche 20. E. wall, 5th from N.E. corner. With predella. (four nurses kneeling in prayer).

Suddhodana, seated sideways, shows the Babe to Kāḷadevala, the old hermit, who foretells his Buddhahood. The Babe's feet rest on the hermit's head.

D. Pl. XXXII (17) and pp. 79–80. Cf. *Neg.* 394 (1905–06).

Plate 283.

(a) Niche 21. E. wall, 1st S. of central doors. With predella (four Brahmans).

The throned King shows the Babe to the four Brahmans, Koṇḍañña etc. He receives his name, Siddhattha. Koṇḍañña foretells his Buddhahood.

D. Pl. XXXIII (18) and pp. 80–81.

(b) Niche 22. E. wall, 2nd S. of central doors. With predella (four nurses).

The Bodhisattva sits between 'Śaktis'. He wears the *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

D. Pl. XXXIII (19) and p. 81, "Siddhārtha's infancy". D. is right, I think, in regarding the central figure as the prince, not the king. The sculptor, I suspect, was a Mahāyānist, say from Patikkarā, used to making sculptures of Bodhisattvas, e.g. Lokanātha between Śaktis; and uses the same model for Siddhattha between Māyā (with fan) and Pajāpatī (with flywhisk). All three sit on double lotus in front of palace. Cf. Pl. 313 (a).

(c) Niche 23. E. wall, 3rd S. of central doors. With predella (eight nurses in two tiers).

Rose-apple tree and Ploughing Festival. The Child sleeps in hieratic pose under the leaning tree.

D. Pl. XXXIII (20) and pp. 81–82.

(d) Niche 24. E. wall, 4th S. of central doors. With predella (eight nurses).

The Child sits enthroned under the tree, in *padmâsana*, hands before body, worshipped by his father and Pajāpatī.

D. Pl. XXXIII (21) and pp. 81–82. (Māyā died 7 days after the birth.)

Plate 284.

(a) Niche 25. E. wall, near S.E. corner. With predella (four ladies kneeling with royal requisites).

The Five-roofed Pavilion (*Subha*). The Prince sits in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, without lotus, right hand in *abhayā*, left in *varada-mudrā*.

D. pp. 82–83. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LXXXIII (a).

(b) Niche 26. S. wall, 1st from S.E. corner. With predella (four ladies seated in converse).

The Seven-roofed Pavilion (*Suramma*). The Prince sits on double lotus, right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, left hand resting on seat. He is in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*.

D. Pl. XXXIII (22) and pp. 82–83. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LXXXIII (b).

(c) Niche 27. S. wall, 2nd from S.E. corner. With predella.

The Nine-roofed Pavilion (*Ramma*). The Prince sits as in (26). *ASI* 1913, Pl. LXXXIII (c).

(d) Niche 28. S. wall, 3rd from S.E. corner. With predella.

The Prince sits in palace on throne in *pralambanâsana*, hands together in lap.

D. Pl. XXXIII (23) and p. 83.

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Plate 285.

(a) Niche 29. S. wall, 4th from S.E. corner. With predella.
Athletic Contest. The Prince stands, holding sword and bow.
D. Pl. XXXIII (24) and pp. 83–84.

(b) Niche 30. S. wall, 5th from S.E. corner. No predella.
Throned on chariot, he sees the Old Man. 1st Omen.
D. p. 84. Cf. *Neg.* 559 (1907–08).

(c) Niche 31. S. wall, 1st W. of central doors. No predella.
Throned on chariot, he sees the Sick Man. 2nd Omen.
D. Pl. XXXIII (25) and p. 84.

(d) Niche 32. S. wall, 2nd W. of central doors. No predella.
Throned on chariot, he sees the Dead Man. 3rd Omen.
D. Pl. XXXIV (26) and p. 84.

Plate 286.

(a) Niche 33. S. wall, 3rd W. of central doors. No predella.
Throned on chariot, he sees the Monk. 4th Omen.
D. pp. 84–85.

(b) Niche 34. S. wall, 4th W. of central doors. With predella.
He sits in *dhyāna mudrā* among his women. The scene is in his pleasance, after he has bathed.
D. Pl. XXXIV (27) and p. 85.

(c) Niche 35. S. wall, near S.W. corner. With predella. Trees behind.
Vissukamma coils his *jaṭāmukuṭa* (for the last time). He still sits in *dhyānamudrā*.

(d) Niche 36. W. wall, 1st from S.W. corner. No predella.
Returning by chariot, the Prince hears of the birth of his son, Rāhula. Messenger kneels before chariot.
D. p. 86.

Plate 287.

(a) Niche 37. W. wall, 2nd from S.W. corner. With predella.
He reclines (hieratically) on couch. Below, four women (harpist, player on the transverse flute, singer, and bamboo-clapper) make music.
D. Pl. XXXIV (29) and p. 86. *ASB* 1914, Pl. IV, fig. 1. Cf. *Neg.* 566 (1907–08).

(b) Niche 38. W. wall, 3rd from S.W. corner. With predella.
Gabled chamber. He sits up in *dhyānamudrā*. The sleeping women lie untidily, like corpses.
D. Pl. XXXIV (30) and p. 86.

(c) Niche 39. W. wall, 4th from S.W. corner. No predella.
Pillared pediment behind. He sends for Channa, the groom, and Kanthaka, his horse, and stands between them.
D. Pl. XXXIV (31) and pp. 86–87.

(d) Niche 40. W. wall, 5th from S.W. corner. No predella.
Gabled chamber. The Farewell, He stands at the bed-head. Yasodharā sleeps (hieratically), with the babe Rāhula beside her. Two women kneel below.
D. Pl. XXXIV (32) and p. 87. Cf. *Neg.* 569 (1907–08).

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UPPER TIER.

Plate 288.

(a) Niche 41. W. wall, 1st N. of central doors. No predella.

The Prince, about to mount Kanthaka, addresses the proud horse. Channa kneels at the tail. Tree behind.

D. p. 87.

(b) Niche 42. W. wall, 2nd N. of central doors. No predella.

Departure from Kapilavatthu. Four Devas bear the hooves, to deaden the sound. Devas in clouds above. Torch-bearers in front. Channa behind.

D. Pl. XXXIV (33) and p. 87. *ASB* 1914, Pl. IV, fig. 2. *Neg.* 395 (1905–06); 571 (1907–08).

(c) Niche 43. W. wall, 3rd N. of central doors. No predella.

The Full Moon shines. Māra tempts him as he goes (top right).

D. Pl. XXXIV (34) and pp. 87–88.

(d) Niche 44. W. wall, 4th N. of central doors. No predella.

Palm trees behind. They reach the river Anomā, weary horse and Channa holding his tail.

D. Pl. XXXV (35) and p. 88. Cf. *Neg.* 573 (1907–08).

Plate 289.

(a) Niche 45. W. wall, near N.W. corner. No predella. Tree behind.

One leap. – They reach the other bank and proceed (?).

D. p. 88.

(b) Niche 46. N. wall, 1st from N.W. corner. No predella. Tree behind.

The Prince, dismounted, divests himself of royal attire, and hands the jewelry to Channa. The *ūrṇā* appears. The horse waits.

D. Pl. XXXV (36) and p. 88.

(c) Niche 47. N. wall, 2nd from N.W. corner. No predella.

Architecture behind. The Tonsure. He sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus, and holding his hair-knot with his left hand, severs it with the sword in his right. *Ūrṇā* clear.

D. Pl. XXXV (37) and p. 88.

(d) Niche 48. N. wall, 3rd from N.W. corner. With predella.

Architecture behind. Still sitting in *padmâsana*, he holds the hair-knot before him with both hands. He throws up the hair-knot. Indra (top right) catches it like a garland, and (top left) carries it in a casket to Tāvatiṁsa. Below, Channa worships. Kanthaka paws the ground.

D. Pl. XXXV (38) and pp. 88–89.

Plate 290.

(a) Niche 49. N. wall, 4th from N.W. corner. With predella.

Architecture behind. He sits as a monk in *dhyānamudrā*, on double lotus. Below, Brahmā Ghaṭīkāra brings, kneeling, the monastic robes. He faces the kneeling Channa. Kanthaka waits, still saddled.

D. Pl. XXXV (39) and p. 89.

(b) Niche 50. N. wall, 5th from N.W. corner. No predella.

Architecture behind. Fully robed as a monk, he stands renouncing the world, between the kneeling Ghaṭīkāra and Channa. Below, on the right, Kanthaka stands alone, unsaddled.

D. Pl. XXXV (40) and p. 89.

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(c) Niche 51. N. wall, 1st E. of central doors. No predella.

Earth-touching Buddha on double lotus. *Ūrṇā* clear. An intrusive sculpture, not one of the original series.

(d) Niche 52. N. wall, 2nd E. of central doors. No predella.

The Walking Monk (without almsbowl) on his march to Anupiya and Rājagaha. Right hand hanging naturally, left before body, robe swinging. Left foot slightly advanced. Architecture behind.

D. p. 89.

Plate 291.

(a) Niche 53. N. wall, 3rd E. of central doors. No predella.

He stands holding almsbowl before him, with a man questioning him on either side. He is collecting his first alms in Rājagaha, and is noted by king Bimbisāra's messengers. Architecture behind.

D. Pl. XXXV (41) and pp. 89–90.

(b) Niche 54. N. wall, 4th E. of central doors. No predella.

He sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus, eating his almsfood at the foot of Mt. Paṇḍava. *Ūrṇā* visible. Architecture behind.

(c) Niche 55. N. wall, near N.E. corner. With predella.

King Bimbisāra visits him. He sits in *dhyānamudrā*. Architecture behind. Below, sits the high-crowned king in left centre, also three queens, all in worship.

D. Pl. XXXVI (44) and p. 90.

(d) Niche 56. E. wall, 1st from N.E. corner. With predella. Two trees behind.

Gotama (left) seated in argument with, and a little above, the hermit, Āḷāra Kālāma. Below, 3 more hermits sit in worship.

D. Pl. XXXVI (43) and p. 90.

Plate 292.

(a) Niche 57. E. wall, 2nd from N.E. corner. With predella. Two trees behind.

Gotama (left) seated in argument with the hermit Uddaka Rāmaputta. Below, 3 more hermits kneel in worship.

D. p. 90.

(b) Niche 58. E. wall, 3rd from N.E. corner. With predella.

In a two-roofed chamber Gotama sits in centre, touching Earth. His first five disciples, the *Pañcavaggiyā*, sit in worship: on the left Koṇḍañña, on the right Assaji; below, Bhaddiya, Vappa and Mahānāma.

D. Pl. XXXV (42, misplaced), and p. 90 (Fig. 44).

(c) Niche 59. E. wall, 4th from N.E. corner. No predella. Branching tree behind.

The Fast. Gotama sits touching Earth, his face and torso (but not his arms) wasted with fasting. A standing Deva on either side rubs ambrosia into the arms. The *ūrṇā* is clear.

D. Pl. XXXVI (45) and pp. 90–91.

(d) Niche 60. E. wall, 5th from N.E. corner. With predella.

Gotama falls (hieratically) in a swoon under a tree. A Deva kneels at his feet in worship. Below, the *Pañcavaggiyā* sit in prayer.

D. Pl. XXXVI (46) and p. 91.

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Plate 293.

(a) Niche 61. E. wall, 1st S. of central doors. No predella.

Earth-touching Buddha, with almsbowl, on double lotus, under tree. – If this is not an intrusive sculpture, we must accept D's view (p. 91): "He has recovered from his faint, and the bowl shows that he is determined to eat food now". *Ūrṇā* plain.

(b) Niche 62. E. wall, 2nd S. of central doors. With predella.

Earth-touching Buddha, with almsbowl, under tree. No lotus-seat. *Ūrṇā* plain. Predella shows Puṇṇā, Sujātā's maid, kneeling in prayer in the centre, with the 'goatherd' (*ajapāla*) fig-tree behind her.

D. p. 91.

(c) Niche 63. E. wall, 3rd S. of central doors. With predella.

Gotama sits in *dhyānamudrā* under tree, with almsbowl (?). *Ūrṇā* plain. No lotus seat. Predella shows Sujātā with her golden bowl, and Puṇṇā, both kneeling.

D. Pl. XXXVI (47) and pp. 91–92.

(d) Niche 64. E. wall, 4th S. of central doors. No predella.

Architecture behind. Gotama sits in *dhyāna mudrā* on lotus. No almsbowl. – The sculpture may be intrusive.

D. p. 92.

Plate 294.

(a) Niche 65. E. wall, near S.E. corner. No predella. Architecture behind.

Gotama sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus, eating his almsfood. *Ūrṇā* clear – almost identical with No. 54 *supra* (Pl. 291 b).

(b) Niche 66. S. wall, 1st from S.E. corner. No predella. Architecture behind.

Gotama sits in *padmâsana, dhyānamudrā,* on double lotus. No *ūrṇā*. There appears to be a small almsbowl on his hands.

(c) Niche 67. S. wall, 2nd from S.E. corner. No predella. Architecture behind.

The Buddha, with *ūrṇā* clear, sits on double lotus, touching Earth. – This sculpture is probably intrusive.

(d) Niche 68. S. wall, 3rd from S.E. corner. No predella.

Triumphal march to the Bodhi tree. Under a fixed umbrella, Gotama, with hands in pose of converse, half-turned to the left, is about to start on his march, between two Devas bearing gonfalons.

D. Pl. XXXVI (48) and p. 92.

Plate 295.

(a) Niche 69. S. wall, 4th from S.E. corner. No predella.

Sotthiya, the grasscutter, offers 8 handfuls of grass. Architecture behind.

D. Pl. XXXVI (49) and p. 92.

(b) Niche 70. S. wall, 5th from S.E. corner. No predella.

Gotama proceeds, facing front, holding the grass high before him. *Ūrṇā* clear. Motion is shown by swing of the robes. Architecture behind. Sotthiya is not shown.

D. p. 92.

(c) Niche 71. S. wall, 1st W. of central doors. No predella.

Gotama stands still, drooping the grass before him. Which side of the tree is he to cast it? Architecture behind. Robes hang even.

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(d) Niche 72. S. wall, 2nd W. of central doors. No predella.

Gotama stands facing East, about to cast the grass. Robes still hang even. His hands now hang at the sides. The right hand holds the grass, which will become the Buddha's throne under the Bodhi tree. Architecture behind.

Plate 296.

(a) Niche 73. S. wall, 3rd W. of central doors. No predella.

Gotama casts the grass with his right hand, raising his left to the shoulder. His robes swing to the right. Architecture behind.

(b) Niche 74. S. wall, 4th W. of central doors. No predella.

Gotama sits in *padmâsana* touching Earth, under the tree. No lotus seat or almsbowl. Sujātā kneels below on the left, holding the water-kettle. – The earth-touching attitude is here unusual, and the sculpture appears to be in the wrong niche. It should come just before No. 63, the Offering of Milk-rice. – Architecture behind.

(c) Niche 75. S. wall, near S.W. corner. No predella.

Between Brahmā (right) upholding the *Chattra*, and Indra (left) winding the *Vijayuttara Śaṅkha*, Gotama sits and touches Earth under the peepal tree. No *ūrṇā*. No lotus seat.

D. Pl. XXXVI (50) and pp. 92–93.

(d) Niche 76. W. wall, 1st from S.W. corner. No predella.

Earth-touching Buddha on double lotus. *Ūrṇā* clear. Architecture behind. – Intrusive relief?

Plate 297.

(a) Niche 77. W. wall, 2nd from S.W. corner. No predella.

Contest with Māra. Gotama sits in *padmâsana*, on double lotus, under his tree, touching Earth. No *ūrṇā*. No lotus-seat. On the left (the Buddha's right) stands Māra, as a Deva unarmed, in pose of argument. – It is a battle of minds, not the physical battle illustrated on the ground-plinth plaques of the Nanda exterior.

D. Pl. XXXVII (51) and p. 93; *ASI* 1918, Part I, Pl. XVII, fig. 4, and pp. 28–29.

(b) Niche 78. W. wall, 3rd N. of S.W. corner. With predella.

Temptation by Māra's daughters. The Buddha, with *ūrṇā* clear, sits in *padmâsana*, on double lotus, touching Earth under a stylized tree (which should be the *Ajapāla nigrodha* fig-tree). Architecture behind. On the predella (left and centre) dance Taṇhā, Aratī and Rāgā in seductive poses; on the right kneel two small figures. The scene is normally placed two weeks or more after the Enlightenment.

D. Pl. XXXVII (52) and pp. 93–94. Cf. *Neg.* 607 (1907–08).

(c) Niche 79. W. wall, 4th N. of S.W. corner. With predella.

Six Devas hail the *Māravijaya*. The Buddha, with *ūrṇā* clear, sits in *padmâsana*, touching Earth, against architecture, below the Bodhi tree. There is no lotus seat; but below, on the predella, sit six crowned Devas in worship.

D. p. 93.

(d) Niche 80. W. wall, 5th from S.W. corner. No predella.

The Enlightenment. The Buddha, with clear *ūrṇā*, *uṣṇīṣa*, and flame-niche, sits in *padmâsana*, *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. Jewelled nimbus and architecture, with shoulder-*haṁsas*, fill the background, with arch of stylized peepal-tree above.

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Plates 298 to 312. SERIES OF 16 SCULPTURES OF THE FULL LIFE OF GOTAMA, FOUND IN EACH OF THE FOUR HALLS.

See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 364–367.

The 16 stone reliefs in each Hall have been numbered consecutively 1 to 16 according to the order of niches, 1 to 16, as one goes round the Hall from the main entrance. Thus No. 1 is the first niche on the left on entering. No. 15 is the last niche but one before returning to the entrance. See Text, p. 366, for the probable original arrangement of all four Halls.

Plate 298.

I. *Defeat of the Heretics at Sāvatthi.*

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 1. With predella.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 1. With predella.

(c) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 1. With predella.

(d) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 15. With predella.

For the intrigues and defeat of the heretics at Sāvatthi, see Text, Ch. IX, pp. 173–5; or G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s.v. Yamakapāṭihāriya. The above four very similar sculptures show the Buddha seated in *padmâsana* on lotus under the *Gaṇḍamba* tree, preaching (*dharmacakramudrā*) in the intervals of performing miracles. Below, on the predella, are shown 6 figures: king *Pasenadi* (right or left centre) and four monks (?), all in reverent attitudes; and one naked heretic (extreme right), apparently trying to fly. This has been proved by Mon Bo Kay (see Ch. XVI, p. 313, n. 5). For the similar sculpture in the Hall of Nagayôn, see Pl. 193 d.

Plate 299.

II. Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on double lotus. With predella. Architecture behind.

(a) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 2.

The predella shows 8 persons seated in prayer: 4 men on the left, 4 women on the right.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 3.

The predella shows 6 persons seated in prayer: 3 men on the left, 3 women on the right.

III (?). *Earth-touching Buddha between two praying Brahmās.*

(c) E. Hall, Sculpture No. 2. With predella. Architecture behind.

No lotus seat. The predella shows 6 crowned Devas seated in prayer.

III (?). *Earth-touching Buddha.*

(d) E. Hall, Sculpture No. 3. With predella. Architecture behind.

No lotus seat. No Brahmās. The predella shows 4 crowned Devas seated in prayer.

The scene appears to be that of the Brahmā Sahampati, accompanied by Indra and hosts of Devas, entreating the Buddha, under the *nigrodha* fig-tree, to preach his *Dhamma*, though difficult, to the world. The scene was already one of those included in the Hall sculptures of the Nagayôn (see Pl. 193 d). It may well also be the scene in (d) of this plate, though the Brahmās are absent.

Plate 300.

IV. *Descent from Tāvatiṁsa.*

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 4.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 4.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 4. Cf. D. Pl. XXXVII (53) and pp. 53–54.

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(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 4.

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 175–177.

All four are similar: but coarse repairs to hands etc. have introduced variations. In three of the sculptures the standing Buddha in the centre raises his left hand to the shoulder (once to the breast); in three his right hand hangs in *varada mudrā* over the kneeling Sāriputta. Brahmā on the right (the Buddha's left) is specially graceful in the N. Hall. Indra on the left (the Buddha's right) may hold his Conch, though this may be passing into an almsbowl. In all four the Buddha is backed with architecture. The W. Hall sculpture maintains the Gandhāran tradition (cf. de Silva-Vigier, *Life of the Buddha*, Pl. 2) of showing the three stairways, of jewels, silver and gold.

Plate 301.

V. *The Nativity*. See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 157–159.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 5. Cf. *Neg.* 6318 (1955–6).

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 5. Cf. D. Pl. XXXII (12) and pp. 77–78.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 5.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 5.

All four are fuller in detail than the Corridor Sculpture (*supra*, Pl. 280 d). By omitting one of the girl-attendants, they find room on the left for the descent of Indra, the three-tiered reception of the Babe by Brahmās, Devas and Men, and the taking of the first Seven Steps. But the sandstone is friable, especially at the base of sculptures, where the gold leaf has worn away; and one has only to compare our Pl. 301 b with Duroiselle's photograph of the same sculpture in *ASI* 1914, to see how much it has deteriorated within half a century.

Tree-spirits (*vṛkṣa devatā*) in Ancient India, to promote fecundity, would bend down a branch and kick the trunk near the root (see Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 69). So Māyā sometimes in Burma art has her legs crossed, as if kicking the tree (see, e.g., the Pagán bronze, Pl. 433 b, c). Not understanding this detail, but not daring to omit it, our sculptor in the W. Hall makes Pajāpatī cross her legs, instead of Māyā.

Plate 302.

VI. *Parinirvāṇa*.

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 180–182.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 6.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 6.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 6.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 6.

As in Nagayôn Hall (Pl. 194 b, c), Parinirvāṇa and Conception sculptures face each other across the inner sides of the Halls, broader than the other reliefs. Those in the Nanda are the broadest and most full of detail. The Buddha lies hieratically, as always, on his tilted bier, head to the left. Ānanda prays at his feet. The bier rests between two *sāla* trees, whose spirits bring their offerings. A triple- (or double-) roofed pavilion rises above the bier, replacing the *Cetiya*, the first symbol of the scene, as more suggestive (perhaps) of the cremation. To the left of this, behind the Buddha's head, stand Brahmā

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and Indra in worship, Brahmā, as senior, on the left. To the right of the pavilion are two tiers of worshippers with lotus buds. Above, 5 Devas enter, hasting and diagonal; below them, square and controlled, 4 Monks seated. Below the bier, between the censers, 6 or 8 kings, hands raised in supplication. In the bottom right corner, a drummer and a dancer. In the N. Hall only, near the head of the bier, above the first king, sits a lonely figure with face averted.

For a far simpler scene of the *Parinirvāṇa*, in one of the Nanda cross-passages, see Pl. 319 e.

Plate 303.

VII. *The First Sermon.*

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 172–173.

(a) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 7. With predella.
(b) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 7. With predella.
(c) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 7. With predella.
(d) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 10. With predella.

The Buddha sits above in *padmâsana, dharmacakra mudrā*, under a tree, on double lotus. The predella shows a Deer couchant at either end, and 4 seated figures worshipping in the centre. These should be 4 out of the 5 *Pañcavaggiyā*. But Sculpture No. 10 in the S. Hall (displaced, presumably, from the E. Hall) shows at least one Brahmā seated on the right. Since it was Sahampati who had persuaded the Buddha to preach his *Dhamma*, his presence here is justified. There is no sign of the Wheel.

Plate 304.

VIII, IX. *Earth-touching Buddha between Brahmā and Indra.*

See Text, Ch. IX, p. 167.

The scene is the first triumphant sitting in *vajrâsana* on the grass-throne under the Bodhi tree. There is no double lotus; but Brahmā on the right (Gotama's left) upholds the *Chattra*, and Indra on the left (Gotama's right) winds his *Vijayuttara Śaṅkha*. This is before Māra's assault. It may be called the Approach to Buddhahood – a theme dear to Kyanzittha. Already in the Nagayôn, 2 sculptures illustrate it: see Pls. 194 e, 201 d. In three of the Nanda Halls, in Niches VIII and IX on either side of the entrance to the temple proper, these sculptures take a prominent place, warning each worshipper who enters that he, too, is on the road to *Bodhi*. For some reason these sculptures are missing from the W. Hall, the main entrance. They are found at the following places:

VIII. E. Hall. Sculpture No. 8.
S. Hall. Sculpture No. 8.
N. Hall. Sculpture No. 8.

IX. E. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.
S. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.
N. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.

From these 6, we select 4 for the purpose of this plate: namely

(a) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 8.
(b) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.
(c) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.
(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 9.

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Plate 305.

X. *Buddha in dhyānamudrā on lotus, under gables.*

(a) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 10. **(b)** N. Hall. Sculpture No. 10.

There are only 2 such sculptures. The theme, I think, is the Buddha's stay in the *Ratanaghara*, 'House of Gems', where he thought out the *Abhidhamma*. This, according to the later *Jātaka* version, took place in the 4th week after the Enlightenment.

To complete the plate, we include two similar displaced sculptures, not easy to identify: – *Earth-touching Buddha under tree, on double lotus, with predella.* Architecture behind.

(c) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 7.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 15.

The predella of (c) shows 4 monks seated in prayer or converse. That of (d) also shows 4 monks in prayer or converse, with a fifth figure, damaged, on the extreme right. Compare Pl. 311 d, which may illustrate the same scene.

Plate 306.

XI. *Māyā's Dream. The Conception.*

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 155–157.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 11.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 11.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 11.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 11.

Another broad sculpture, corresponding to the Parinirvāṇa on the opposite wall. All four reliefs are *in situ*, but damaged by loss of gold-leaf and sandstone weathering, and even more by crude repairs. Māyā lies in hieratic pose against the tilted bed-frame. Between the legs of the couch are 3 basons on stands. In the lower corners sit two or four of the *Mahārājas*. Above the couch their queens offer lotus buds. Above these, a *kīrtimukha* frieze loops its tassels of pearl. At the top, a flat-arched pediment, six-lobed below, ends at the sides in *vyālas* with reverted heads, and at the apex is a sort of double-bodied *kīrtimukha* mask. The White Elephant, conspicuous in the top right corner of the Nagayôn Hall sculpture (Pl. 194 c), is here either absent or lost.

Plate 307.

XII. *The Standing Buddha.*

See Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 140–143.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 12. No predella. Architecture behind.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 12. No predella. Architecture behind.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 12. No predella. Architecture behind.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 13. No predella. Architecture behind.

The Buddha stands with robes evenly spread behind him, and hands brought together before the breast. The hands have doubtless been repaired from time to time, and got changed in the process, so that he often seems to be holding something (e.g. his Hair-knot, as in Pl. 289 d). But I think the original hand-pose was just a borrowing from *dharmacakramudrā*. Cf. other renderings: Pl. 142 f (Kyaukku Ônhmin); 192 a (Nagayôn Shrine); 202 a (Nagayôn Corridor).

Perhaps no special scene is indicated. Or is it the Animisa station?

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Plate 308.

XIII. *The Walking Buddha.*

See Text, Ch. VIII, p. 143.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 13. No predella. Architecture behind.

(b) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 13. No predella. Architecture behind.

(c) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 15. No predella. Architecture behind.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 12. No predella. Architecture behind.

The Buddha's right arm hangs naturally, his left is doubled up to touch the left shoulder. His robes swing towards the right, free of the hanging right hand.

Perhaps no special scene is indicated. Or is it the Ratanacaṅkama?

Plate 309.

XIV. *Gotama in dhyānamudrā. Sujātā, Puṇṇā and the Goat.*

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 14. With predella. Architecture behind.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 14. With predella. Architecture behind.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 14. With predella. Architecture behind.

(d) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 14. With predella. Architecture behind.

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 165–167.

The offering of milk-rice is not shewn. The sculpture is a mere mnemonic, not a realization of the scene. Gotama sits, without almsbowl, under the *nigrodha* tree. He sits on double lotus, not, as in the Nagayôn relief (Pl. 202 c), without lotus. Sujātā and Puṇṇā are shown on the predella in pastoral style. The woman in the centre has a stick over her shoulder, and holds the goat by a halter. The goat serves to indicate that this is the Goatherd (*ajapāla*) banyan tree.

Plate 310.

XV (?). *Buddha seated on double lotus in padmâsana, dharmacakramudrā.*

The sculptures now occupying Niche XV in the four Halls are all different: one cannot be sure which is *in situ*. We group here 4 sculptures, with predellas, all showing the Preaching Buddha, other than those illustrating the First Sermon. All 4 predellas show 4 figures: on (a) and (b) these are 4 monks seated in worship; on (c) 2 monks in worship on the left, and a third on the right, with a fourth (right centre) in pose of converse; on (d) 2 monks in worship on the left, and perhaps a questioner and his wife on the right.

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 15. Tree above. Architecture behind.

(b) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 16. Tree above. Architecture behind.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 9. Tree above. Architecture behind.

(d) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 13. Tree above. Architecture behind.

Compare also N. Hall, Sculpture No. 3 (not shewn), where there is a similar Preaching Buddha, but the 8 figures sunk on the predella are indistinguishable.

Plate 311.

XVI. *Buddha in dhyānamudrā. Below, a king-donor, Bimbisāra*(?).

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 16. Tree above. Architecture behind. The Buddha sits on double lotus. The great king kneels on the left of the predella. To the right of him are 4 smaller royalty holding up bowls of alms. The scene very likely relates to the Buddha's second

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visit to Rājagaha, when Bimbisāra entertained him at the palace, and dedicated the Bamboo Grove, *Veḷuvana*.

(b) N. Hall. Sculpture No. 16. Tree above. Architecture behind. The Buddha sits on double lotus. The great king, very tall, with perhaps a prince behind him, kneels on the left of the predella. On the right kneel three palace-ladies. All are offering bowls, and the king a cooking pot with handle.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 16. Tree above. Architecture behind. The Buddha has no lotus-mat, as in (a) and (b); so there is more room on the predella. This shows 7 kneeling persons, the king third from the left, with two queens (?) behind him. 4 other royal persons or ministers on the right. The king offers a document, perhaps the deed of gift of the *Veḷuvana*. The rest hold pots, bowls, etc.

(d) To fill up the plate, we include W. Hall, Sculpture No. 8. Tree above. Architecture behind. The Buddha sits on double lotus, touching earth. The predella shows 2 monks seated in worship on the left, and a third monk receiving an offering from a lady (?) on the right. – This may possibly connect with the scene shown on Pl. 305 d, *supra*.

Plate 312. *Miscellaneous Hall sculptures.*

Included in the Halls are a few single sculptures, probably intrusive, of well-known scenes in the life of the Buddha: –

(a) E. Hall. Sculpture No. 10. No predella. Architecture behind.

The Tonsure. Gotama sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus. The *ūrṇā* is plain. The pose is almost the same as that in the Corridor relief (Pl. 289 c), but there the right elbow is a little higher, making the action more energetic. Cf., too, Pls. 313 c, d and 410 c, *infra*, and Pl. 141 c (Kyaukku Ônhmin). See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 163–164.

(b) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 2. No predella. A little architecture behind.

The Pārileyyaka retreat. Compare the simpler rendering in Nagayôn Hall (Pl. 193 b). Here a second monk is added, on the right. The Monkey here is shown twice, offering the honeycomb, and falling (?). But the general arrangement, including the Buddha's *pralambanâsana*, is common to both. Duroiselle discusses the story learnedly at *ASI* 1914, pp. 95–96 and Pl. XXXVII (54). See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 177–178.

(c) W. Hall. Sculpture No. 3. No predella. Architecture behind.

Taming of Nālāgiri elephant. The Buddha stands in *varada mudrā*, with left arm doubled so as to touch the left shoulder. Compare Pls. 319 c (Nanda) and 410 f, *infra*, and the hieratic treatment of the theme at Kyaukku Ônhmin (Pl. 141 f). But the life and drama have gone out of the story. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1914, pp. 96–97, and Pl. XXXVII (56). Also Text, Ch. IX, pp. 178–180.

(d) S. Hall. Sculpture No. 3. No predella. Architecture behind.

Conversion of Āḷavaka (or Āṭavika) Yakkha. The Buddha stands in preaching attitude in the centre, with a monk standing in worship on the left (the Buddha's right), and the stout square-jawed Yakkha on the right, with knees half-bent towards the Buddha. See Duroiselle's learned note on the story at *ASI* 1914, p. 96, and Pl. XXXVII (55). For a very different treatment of the scene in painting, see *ASI* 1936, Pl. XXXI (e), and p. 79 (Sāyamthu temple, Pagán). See Text, Ch. IX, p. 178.

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We have now accounted for all the sculptures in the four Halls, except for one – W. Hall, Sculpture No. 1, which is a good normal Earth-touching Buddha, seated on double lotus under the *Bodhi* tree. Scene: the Enlightenment.

Plates 313 to 315. HIGH SCULPTURES IN THE FOUR SHRINES.

See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 371–372.

In the two side-walls of each Shrine-recess, at about shoulder-level of the colossal standing Buddhas in the centre, are 3 niches in two tiers, thus o°o, facing each other across the 4 Shrines. Out of the total of 24 gilded images which they contain, we select 12 for reproduction.

Plate 313.

(a) S. Shrine. E. wall. Lower tier. Inner side.

Prince Siddhattha seated among women in his palace. – This is a finer rendering of the same Mahāyānist theme as the Corridor sculpture, Pl. 283 b. Under three umbrellas and a richly gilded gable, the young Prince sits like Lokanātha between Tārā and Hayagrīva, right hand on knee in *varada mudrā*, left fingers bent as if to hold a climbing lotus-stem. Two queens facing front, kneel in worship beside him. Below, on the predella, four women, gracefully kneeling, hold his requisites: water pot, betel box on stand, beaker and fan. Note the rich simplicity of woodwork of the pavilion architecture.

(b) N. Shrine. W. wall. Lower tier. Inner side.

Prince Siddhattha viewed sideways on his chariot. The driver stands before him under the banana-leaf flag. Behind him, the umbrella-holder has been given two heads, the sculptor momentarily supposing him to be Brahmā. The central figure here is large, like Māyā on her litter (Pl. 280 c). Contrast the Four Omens and the Return (Pls. 285 b, c, d; 286 a, d), where the Prince is shown small, mounted on a high throne, so as to transfer interest to the Omen or Messenger in the bottom right corner. To prop this empty corner under the Makara, the sculptor inserts a floral pattern, like a seven-headed Nāga.

(c) N. Shrine. W. wall, top. No predella. Faint architecture behind.

The Tonsure. Compare with this and (d) the renderings in Nanda Corridor (Pl. 289 c, d) and Hall (Pl. 312 a); also Pl. 410 c. In (d) Gotama is shown still dressed as a Prince (elsewhere, prematurely, as a monk); but the left hand is too low, and the right too high, for the operation. (c), where the *ūrṇā* is clear, deftly combines the Tonsure proper with the Scene that follows it in the Corridor – the descent of Indra with a casket to recover the severed Hair-knot. In both Gotama sits on double-lotus throne.

(d) S. Shrine. E. wall, top. No predella.

The Tonsure. Another version. See (c) above.

Plate 314.

(a, b) *The Walking Buddha.*

(a) W. Shrine. S. wall. Lower tier. Outer side.

(b) W. Shrine. S. wall. Lower tier. Inner side.

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(b) shows the left foot slightly lower than the right, implying that the figure is in motion; and this is confirmed in both by the swing of the robe to the right, with the left hand holding the robe at the shoulder. The contrast between the Standing Buddha (robe evenly spread, both hands together before the breast), and the Walking Buddha (robe swung to the left, left hand at the shoulder), is clearly seen in two Nagayôn reliefs: Pl. 202 a, b. In our present plate the Buddha's feet appear to stand on mountain-caves. Is any special scene suggested? – e.g. the Ascent to Tāvatiṁsa?

(c, d) *Gotama in dhyānamudrā under tree. Sujātā and Puṇṇā below.*

(c) S. Shrine. W. wall. Lower tier. Outer side.

(d) N. Shrine. E. wall. Lower tier. Outer side.

The *dhyānamudrā* is normal in this scene. Apart from this, these renderings are very different from the pastoral scene shown in the Halls (No. XIV, Pl. 309), where one lady appears to be dealing forcefully with her goat, and the offering of milk-rice is not shown. Here the goat is absent, and the women kneel in prayer against the double lotus. In (d) Sujātā holds her golden bowl. Cf. also the Corridor rendering (Pl. 293 c) and the Nagayôn relief (Pl. 202 c). The same scene recurs perhaps on a relief in the E. Shrine, S. wall, Lower tier, Outer side.

Plate 315. *Earth-touching Buddha. Various scenes.*

(a) W. Shrine. N. wall. Lower tier. Inner side.

No lotus-seat. Four trees are shown on the predella, and in the midst of them, presumably a donor. He is seated in prayer – a man (I think), but not a king. Perhaps he is the rich man *Anāthapiṇḍika, seṭṭhi* of Sāvatthi, donor of the *Jetavanârāma.*

(b) W. Shrine. N. wall. Lower tier. Outer side.

Here the Buddha sits on double lotus, against which a king, presumably a donor, is kneeling, holding up what looks like a book or document. Compare the attitude of the king in the Hall sculpture, Pl. 311 c, whom I take to be *Bimbisāra* offering (after the meal) the *Veḷuvanârāma.* The Buddha there sits in *dhyānamudrā*, an attitude not uncommon where gifts of almsfood are concerned. For a gift of land, the Earth-touching attitude, as here, seems more appropriate.

(c) W. Shrine. N. wall. Top.

Here too the Buddha sits on double lotus, against which a donor is certainly engaged in preparing rice, curry and liquid refreshment. – Could this be the last fatal meal of *sūkaramaddava* which *Cunda* the smith, in all innocence, prepared for the Buddha at *Pāvā*, near Kusināra?

(d) W. Shrine. S. wall. Top.

Here the Buddha sits under a tree, touching Earth. There is no lotus seat, but a predella showing 7 ladies, some if not all wearing coronets, all seated in worship. – Is this one of the many benefactions of *Visākhā*, foremost of the women-donors to the Order – e.g. the *Migāramātupāsāda* in the Pubbârāma, E. of Sāvatthi?

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Plates 316, 317. SOME UNUSUAL MUDRĀS.

Unable, as yet, to deal adequately with the main bulk of stone reliefs in the corridors, we content ourselves for the moment with the following haphazard selection of a few images in the lower tiers of niches which strike one immediately as unusual: –

Plate 316. *Earth-touching with the left hand. Right hand against breast. No uṣṇīṣa.*

(a) Outer corridor. Inner wall. N. face. Bottom tier. 2nd niche E. of N. entrance.

The predella shows king (?) and queen on the left, and 2 ladies on the right, all seated in worship. Gotama sits on double lotus, without *uṣṇīṣa.*

(b) Outer corridor. Inner wall. S. face. Bottom tier. 2nd niche W. of S.E. corner.

The predella shows a king in the centre, facing left, between 4 monks. All are seated in worship. Gotama sits on double lotus, without *uṣṇīṣa.*

(c) Outer corridor. Inner wall. E. face. 3rd tier from the ground. Niche near N.E. corner.

The centre panel of the predella shows a man (?) seated, facing right in worship. Floral fountains fill the two side-panels. Gotama sits on double lotus, without *uṣṇīṣa.*

Plate 317. *Buddha* (?) *in padmâsana on double lotus. Right hand against breast, left in laṗ. No uṣṇīṣa.*

(a) Outer corridor. Inner wall. W. face. 2nd tier. Niche N. of entrance.

The predella shows 4 men seated in worship, facing each other. *Ūrṇā* visible, but no *uṣṇīṣa.*

(b) Outer corridor. Inner wall. W. face. 2nd tier. Niche near S.W. corner.

The predella shows 4 monks seated in worship, facing each other, with foliated stem in centre. No *uṣṇīṣa.*

(c) Outer corridor. Inner wall. S. face. 3rd tier. Niche near S.W. corner.

The predella shows 2 monks (?) seated on the left, facing 2 Devas (?) seated on the right, all in worship. Branching stem in centre. No *uṣṇīṣa.*

(d) Outer corridor. Inner wall. S. face, 3rd tier. Niche W. of upper cross-passage, W. of S.E. corner.

The predella shows 2 monks seated on the left, facing 2 Devas or kings seated on the right, all in worship.

Plates 318 to 323. SCULPTURES IN CROSS-PASSAGES.

See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 368–370.

Plate 318. *Life of the Buddha* (i).

(a) Outer wall. W. face. 2nd cross-passage. N. side.

Upper panel: Bodhisattva seated on pedestal in *lalitâsana, varadamudrā,* between a kneeling woman (left) and 2 children (right). All have haloes.

Lower panel: 4 tall Devas kneeling in prayer.

Possibly the scene is that of Setaketu's acceptance, in Tusita, of the universal request of gods and men, that he should be reborn as a man and attain Buddhahood. Cf. Pl. 278 a.

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(b) Outer wall. N. face, 6th cross-passage. W. side.

Upper panel: a large Buddha seated in *padmâsana, dhyānamudrā*, between two leafy trees. On the left sits a king, on the right a queen (?), in pose of converse (?).

Lower panel: 2 boys (left) and 2 girls (right) seated in worship. Post in centre.

The scene might illustrate the Miracle at the Ploughing Festival, where the Child (here magnified) was deserted by his nurses, but the Rose-apple Tree's shade did not move. Suddhodana and Pajāpatī, hearing of the miracle, came to worship the child. Cf. Pls. 141 b, 283 c.

(c) Inner wall. W. face. 3rd cross-passage. N. side.

The Bodhisattva, with conspicuous *jaṭāmukuṭa*, seated in *dhyānamudrā* on pedestal under carved gable-roofs.

The scene may be on the eve of the Great Departure, when, after bathing, as he sat meditating in his pleasance, Indra sent Vissukamma to dress his hair royally for the last time. Cf. Pl. 247 c.

(d) Outer wall. S. face. 1st cross-passage. E. side.

Top of reredos broken off. Gotama sits, with *ūrṇā* and *uṣṇīṣa*, in *dhyānamudrā* on double lotus. Two boyish Devaputtas press tubes behind his ears, instilling ambrosia. – The scene is the *Dukkhacariya* or Fast. Cf. Pls. 141 d, 292 c.

Neg. 1617 (1916–17).

(e) Outer wall. W. face. 1st cross-passage. N. side.

The Buddha sits in *dhyānamudrā* on throne under a vast beaded halo. A hermit with two-horned headdress sits in worship on either side of him. – Perhaps this scene is the Conversion of *Uruvela Kassapa* and his brothers.

(f) Outer wall. N. face. 2nd cross-passage. W. side.

The Buddha sits under a large halo (now broken) in *padmâsana* on throne; his right hand drooped, palm open, in *varada mudrā*; his left, perhaps in *vitarkamudrā*, before the breast. On either side a woman kneels in prayer. – We take this to be the scene at Vesāli, when *Pajāpatī Gotamī* at last obtained the Buddha's consent for women to enter the Order as nuns. Strictly speaking, they should have had their heads shaved before getting the Buddha's consent.

Neg. 1616 (1916–17).

Plate 319. *Life of the Buddha* (ii).

(a) Inner wall. S. face. 3rd cross-passage. W. side.

The Buddha stands on double lotus in walking pose, left hand raised to left shoulder, robe swinging to that side. On each side stands a young layman with knotted girdle, hands in worship. – Possibly this scene shows the conversion of *Yasa* and his friends, early converts of the Buddha.

(b) Inner wall. E. face. 1st cross-passage. N. side.

Descent from Tāvatiṁsa. The Buddha stands in walking pose, left hand raised before the body, robe swinging to that side, right hand hanging in *varada mudrā* above the kneeling *Sāriputta*.

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Brahmā upholds the umbrella on the right (the Buddha's left). *Indra* holds his conch on the left (the Buddha's right). No staircase or ladder. Cf. Pls. 141 e, 194 a, 300, 419 a.
Neg. 1609 (1916–17).

(c) Outer wall. N. face. 5th cross-passage. E. side.

Taming of Nālāgiri elephant. The Buddha is in walking pose, left hand raised before the body, robe swinging to that side, right hand hanging as if to stroke the raised trunk of the elephant, whose other head crouches at his feet. A monk with alsmbowl stands impassive on either side. Note the 'wooden' treatment of this stone relief. Cf. Pls. 141 f, 245 d, 312 c, 410 f.
Neg. 1610 (1916–17).

(d) Outer wall. E. face, 1st cross-passage. N. side.

Top left corner damaged. Upper panel: the Buddha sits in *padmâsana*, probably *dharmacakramudrā*, between two figures seated in converse. Lower panel: king and queen (?) seated on the left; king and two children on the right. The children sit in worship, the other three in converse. – Scene not identified.

(e) Inner wall. E. face. 2nd cross-passage. N. side.

Parinirvāṇa. The Buddha lies hieratically, head to left, on tilted couch with beading. Between the legs of the couch is carved an elaborate floral pattern. Below the couch is a *daṇḍadīp*, with two praying monks seated on either side of it. Above the Buddha, the bare arch of the reredos, now broken. Cf. the broader and more elaborate stone reliefs in the Nagayôn and Nanda Halls: Pls. 194 b, 302 a, b, c, d.
Cf. *Neg.* 1629 (1916–17).

Plate 320. *Unidentified scenes.*

(a) Outer wall. S. face, 1st cross-passage. W. side.

Under a fine tree branching like a fountain, a high-crowned queen with royal ornaments is seated sideways on a throne, facing left. She is handing a bag of money (?) to a prince (with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and knotted girdle), who stands on the left with hands raised to receive it. On the right, behind the queen, a woman-attendant sits in worship.
Neg. 1615 (1916–17).

(b) Outer wall. N. face. 1st cross-passage. E. side.

Much of the top is lost. A crowned Bodhisattva, royally adorned, sits left leg on right, on a throne between square posts. His left hand in lap supports his right hand, slightly raised in *abhaya mudrā*. A woman (?) sits in prayer on either side of him.

(c) Outer wall. E. face, 2nd cross-passage. S. side.

Bodhisattva seated, facing front, on a low pedestal with carved legs, in the middle of a boat moving right, with a man paddling at each end. He sits in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right knee raised, left hand falling over shin, right elbow on thigh, with hand holding a small object before the chest. Behind him is a high *clec* nimbus, resting on architecture. Reredos otherwise plain.
Neg. 1625 (1916–17).

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(d) Outer wall. N. face. 1st cross-passage. W. side.

Crowned queen seated on pedestal in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, left knee high raised, left hand resting on seat before her. She turns half-right, with right palm raised, holding some round object and transferring it to the raised hands of a man standing on the left. His hair is elegantly combed and knotted. He wears loin-cloth and girdle. On the right, a standing female attendant with carefully combed hair, raises her right hand as if to scratch the back of the queen's shoulder. In the background is a double-roofed wooden gable, the lower roof divided to admit the queen's haloed head. – The scene is very likely the same as that in (a) of this plate.

(e) Outer wall. N. face. 2nd cross-passage. E. side.

Crowned Bodhisattva with tall ear-ornaments sits, left leg on right, on throne in square-pillared hall, with top corners looped and tasselled, and roof crowned with a finial. His right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā*, his left falls over his knee. Two figures sit against the side-pillars, one on each side, with hands raised in prayer. – The scene may well be the same as that in (b) of this plate.

(f) Outer wall. S. face. 4th cross-passage. W. side.

A room with three orders of arching, and radiating window (?) in back centre. In the foreground two royal figures seated facing each other. On the higher throne, to the left, sits a robed figure with combed and knotted hair – probably a queen, but crownless. On the lower throne, to the right, sits a crowned king or Deva, with hands raised as if making request.

Plate 321. *Jātaka scenes* (i).

(a) Outer wall. W. face. 5th cross-passage. N. side.

Stout figure, probably a woman, with combed hair, large ear-tubes and navel showing, seated on a low pedestal under a tree on the left. She is in converse with a standing king or Deva on the right. – Is this an illustration of the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*, No. 7, telling the loves of *Brahmadatta*, king of Benares, and the faggot-gatherer? – A similar tale recurs in the *Śakuntalā* story of the *Mahābhārata*; also the Thambhula/Kyanzittha romance in Burma, and elsewhere.

(b) Outer wall. S. face. 5th cross-passage. W. side.

Left: a small leafy tree with Monkey in it.
Centre: a rock in a river, with (male) crocodile on it, and (female) crocodile below.
Right: a large branching tree on the further side of the river. –
Clearly this illustrates *Vānarinda Jātaka*, No. 57.

(c) Outer wall. W. face. 3rd cross-passage. S. side.

Two kings – *Brahmadatta* of Benares and *Mallika* of Kosala – with umbrellas and drivers, riding on their respective horse-chariots, meet head on. Consort of clouds above. – See *Rājovāda Jātaka*, No. 151.
Neg. 1608 (1916–17).

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(d) Inner wall. E. face. 1st cross-passage. S. side.

On the left, a strong standing figure, headless – *Sakka* (or *Indra*). On the right, the wise Hare in the furnace of the burning coals. – See *Sasa Jātaka*, No. 316.

(e) Outer wall. S. face. 4th cross-passage. E. side.

Upper panel: a 'two-horned' hermit, *Mahākañcana*, seated in *dharmacakra mudrā* on a pedestal, between a similar hermit, *Upakañcana*, and *Sakka* (Indra), both seated in prayer.

Lower panel: another hermit and two women (the sister, *Kañcanadevī*, and her maid) on the left; on the right, a standing elephant, and a tall monkey kneeling in prayer. – See *Bhisa Jātaka*, No. 488.

(f) Outer wall. E. face. 5th cross-passage. N. side.

Top broken but not lost. Square-pillared hall with crenate bargeboard, pointed roof and finial, looped frieze and tasselled capitals. The *Mahābrahmā Mātaṅga* standing on the left, right hand before breast, left hand touching the knee of the female figure, *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā*, seated on throne on the right, her hands raised before her breast. – See *Mātaṅga Jātaka*, No. 497.

Plate 322. *Jātaka scenes* (ii).

(a) Outer wall. W. face. 6th cross-passage. N. side.

Top lost. Square-pillared hall, with tassels of beading at the sides. Left: a crowned king seated sideways on low throne, in converse with another crowned king standing (right) on a round pedestal, dangling a rosary in his right hand. There is a large jar with conical cover in front of the right side-pillar, behind the standing figure. – Se *Kumbha Jātaka*, No. 512, where *Sakka*, disguised as a brahman, lectures king *Sabbamitta* of Sāvatthi on the evils of strong drink.

(b) Outer wall. W. face. 6th cross-passage. S. side.

Three bushy trees in background. In right centre, enthroned in front of a portico, a Deva (?), with *jaṭāmukuṭa* but no ornaments, sits in *dhyānamudrā*. On the left, two women kneel towards him in prayer, facing front. On the right kneels in prayer a king with *kirītamukuṭa*. – Can this be the scene in *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*, No. 535, when *Mātali*, sent by Sakka, calls on the hermit *Maccharikosiya* to choose between Sakka's four daughters: *Āsā*, *Saddhā*, *Sirī* and *Hirī*? – Very doubtful.

(c) Outer wall. W. face. 2nd cross-passage. S. side.

A great Deva sits central in the clouds in *dhyānamudrā*. Below, a woman (?) on the left faces a crowned king on the right, both seated in worship. – Possibly this is the scene in *Nāradakassapa Jātaka*, No. 544, when *Rujā* fails to convince her father, king *Aṅgati* of Videha; and *Nārada*, the great Brahmā, "stands in the sky" and frightens him with the pains of hell. But if so, one would expect Nārada to appear, either disguised as a hermit, or four-faced as a Brahmā.

(d) Outer wall. N. face. 3rd cross-passage. E. side.

Upper panel: a royal person seated in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right hand before body, left resting on pedestal. A lady on either side is seated sideways in worship, but facing front.

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Lower panel: on the left, an elephant and horse in profile; on the right, 2 men facing them, kneeling in worship.

Can this be *Vessantara*, with *Phusatī* and *Maddī*, giving away 700 elephants, 700 horses, etc? See Cowell's translation, Vol. VI, p. 261.

(e) Outer wall. N. face. 3rd cross-passage. W. side.

Top of backslab broken off. In the centre, waterpot raised in his right hand, stands *Vessantara*. With his left hand he holds *Jāli*, who is followed by *Kaṇhājinā*. He is about to pour water of dedication, and hand over his children to the stout brahman *Jūjaka*, standing on the left. – See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 280–3.

(f) Outer wall. N. face. 5th cross-passage. W. side.

A double arch formed by a branching tree. On the right, under the higher arch, stands the 'two-horned' hermit, *Vessantara*, bidding farewell. On the left, *Jūjaka* (head broken) is dragging off *Jāli* and *Kaṇhājinā* (centre), after tying their hands together. – See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 283–6.

Plate 323. *Jātaka scenes* (?) (iii).

(a) Outer wall. W. face. 1st cross-passage. S. side.

Top right corner broken. Under a gable-roof with corner-shields and pinnacle, sits on a pedestal the gilded figure of a 'two-horned' hermit, in *padmâsana, dhyānamudrā*. On the right, the gilded figure of a woman-hermit sits, also with 'two-horned' headdress, supporting with both hands a large bundle on her head. On the left sits a king or Deva in worship. – The scene may well be taken from *Sambulā Jātaka*, No. 519, with the leper-hermit *Sotthisena*, his faithful wife *Sambulā*, and *Sakka* (Indra). – See Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 48–52.

(b) Outer wall. S. face. 6th cross-passage. W. side.

Top right corner broken. A. 'two-horned' hermit stands in the centre, holding up in his right hand a water-goglet. With his left hand he holds the forearm of a beautiful young princess, wearing a coronet, elaborate headdress and ear-tubes. On the left side stands a fine young man with knotted girdle, holding a plantain-leaf fan in his left hand. His right hand is outstretched. He is about to be married to the princess. – Is the scene the marriage of Prince Siddhattha and Yasodharā? Or that of Suddhodana and Māyā?

Neg. 1612 (1916–17).

(c) Outer wall. N. face. 6th cross-passage. E. side.

A venerable bearded hermit sits in the centre, under an arching tree, in *dhyānā mudrā*. Seated in worship sideways facing him, sit a young man and a young woman. – Is this part of the marriage scene presented in (b) of this plate?

(d) Outer wall. S. face. 5th cross-passage. E. side.

In a gabled portico, and almost touching the roof, sits a tall hermit, 'two-horned', on a massive throne, in *dhyānamudrā*. On either side sit two tiers of persons facing him: top left, a king or

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Deva; top right, a woman-hermit(?) – these in conversation; in the lower tier, two women-hermits, worshipping.

Plates 324 to 334. GLAZED TERRACOTTA TABLETS, lining the exterior plinths and terraces. See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 359–362.

Plate 324. *Jātaka tablets* (i).

(a) W. face, Lowest roof-parapet. S.W. corner of main block.
This is the only plaque in this initial series (Jātakas 1 to 537) without a number, and with a Mon word: *wo'* = this.
Legend: – wo' apaṇṇaka jāt ‖ – "This is Apaṇṇaka Jātaka" (No. 1).
Neg. 659 (1908–09).

(b) W. face. Lowest roof parapet. Between S.W. corner and W. centre.
Legend: – kaṇḍina jāt 13 – Kaṇḍina Jātaka, No. 13.
Neg. 671 (1908–09).

(c) W. Hall. S. side of roof, near E. end.
Legend: – baka jāt 38 – Baka Jātaka, No. 38.
Neg. 935 (1910–11).

(d) W. Hall. S. side of roof.
Legend: – cūḷajanaka jāt 52 – Cūḷajanaka Jātaka, No. 52.
Neg. 947 (1910–11).

(e) W. Hall. S. side of roof.
Legend: – pañcāvudha jāt 55 – Pañcâvudha Jātaka, No. 55.
Neg. 1417 (1914–15).

(f) W. Hall. S. side of roof, near W. end.
Legend: – bherivādaka jāt 59 – Bherivādaka Jātaka, No. 59.
Neg. 935 (1910–11).

Plate 325. *Jātaka tablets* (ii).

(a) W. Hall. S. side of roof, W. end.
Legend: – saṅkhadhamaka jāt 60 – Saṁkhadhamana Jātaka, No. 60.
Neg. 954 (1910–11).

(b) N. Hall. W. side of roof.
Legend: – daḍḍara jāt 172 – Daddara Jātaka, No. 172.
Film and Stage Dept. phot.

(c) N. Hall. E. side of roof, middle.
Legend: – sīlānīsaṅsa jāt 190 – Sīlānisaṁsa Jātaka, No. 190.
Neg. 728 (1908–09).

(d) N. Hall. E. side of roof.
Legend: – valāhaka jāt 196 – Valāhassa Jātaka, No. 196.
Neg. 734 (1908–09). Cf. *ASI* 1913, Pl. LIV (24) and p. 104.

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(e) N. face of main block, W. of junction with N. Hall.
Legend: – ‖ rādha jāt 198 – Rādha Jātaka, No. 198.
Neg. 736 (1908–09).

Plates 326 to 328. *Mahānipāta Jātaka tablets* (i).

We have now reached the top series of smaller tablets, inscribed in Mon, illustrating the *Mahānipāta*. These have been edited by Duroiselle, in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II.

Plate 326.

(a) 4th terrace from top. Between N.E. corner and centre of E. face.
Legend: – kil sthān ku gahak 58(6) – "He [Janaka] assigns their places to the state officials" (*Pāli* gāhaka).
Mahājanaka Jātaka, No. 539. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 26.
Neg. 1159 (1954–55). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 16; Part II, Pl. XII 49.

(b) 4th terrace from top. E. face, on S. side of centre.
Legend: – smiṅ tit uyyān 596 – "The king [Janaka] goes out to the garden."
Mahājanaka Jātaka, No. 539. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 28.
Neg. 1153 (1954–55). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 20; Part II, Pl. XIV 59.

(c) 4th terrace from top. S. face, between S.E. corner and centre.
Legend: – kāl syām tuk ḍāk 624 – "When Śyāma is drawing water."
Sāma (Śyāma) Jātaka, No. 540. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 43.
Neg. 1124 (1954–55). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 32; Part II, Pl. XXI 92.

(d) 3rd terrace from top. N. face, between centre and N.E. corner.
Legend: – mahos tāw mān 694 – "Mahosadha lives as a potter."
Mahosadha (Mahā-ummagga) Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 186.
Neg. 1289 (1954–55). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 54–55; Part II, Pl. XXXVIII 162.
Note degeneration of plaque, due to lime whitewash.

(e) 2nd terrace from top. W. face, between S.W. corner and centre.
Legend: – bhūridat maṅ sīl han udyā – "Bhūridatta keeps the precepts in the garden."
Bhūridatta Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 87.
Measured drawing by Arch. Dept. Cf. *Neg.* 1906 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part 1, p. 81; Part II, Pl. LIII 225.

(f) 2nd terrace from top. W. face, S. of centre.
Legend: – alaṁbāy ñāc bhūridat – "Ālambāyana sees Bhūridatta."
Bhūridatta Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 88–89.
Neg. 1912 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 84–85; Part II, Pl. LIV 231.

Plate 327. *Mahānipāta Jātaka tablets* (ii).

(a) 2nd terrace from top. W. face, centre.
Legend: – alaṁbāy jak bhūridat – "Ālambāyana pulls Bhūridatta."
Bhūridatta Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 97.
Neg. 1913 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 85; Part II, Pl. LV 232.

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(b) 2nd terrace from top. W. face, N. of centre.
Legend: – alaṁbāy r(u)leḥ bhūridat – "Ālambāyana makes Bhūridatta dance."
Bhūridatta Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 98.
Neg. 1914 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 85–86; Part II, Pl. LV 233.

(c) 2nd terrace from top. N. face, W. of centre.
Legend: – puṇṇa yak biḥat – "The Yakkha Puṇṇaka tests [Vidhura]."
Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 147.
Neg. 1934 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 94; Part II, Pl. LX 254.

(d) 2nd terrace from top. E. face, between N.E. corner and centre.
Legend: – kil abo' (m)in(m)in – "(They) give nurses" (for the baby).
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 251.
Neg. 1950 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 101–2; Part II, Pl. LXIV 269.

(e) 2nd terrace from top. E. face, between N.E. corner and centre.
Legend: – wesantar may sṅi dān – "Vessantara looks at the gift-houses."
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 252.
Neg. 1954 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 104; Part II, Pl. LXV 273.

(f) 2nd terrace from top. E. face, N. of centre.
Legend: – biṁnaḥ āc ciṅ – "The brahmans ask for the elephant."
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 252–3.
Neg. 1956 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 104–5; Part II, Pl. LXV 275.

Plate 328. *Mahānipāta Jātaka tablets* (iii).

(a) 2nd terrace from top. E. face, S. of centre.
Legend: – wesantar s(ḍ)ik dān – "Vessantara is happy in the gift."
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 253.
Neg. 1959 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 106; Part II, Pl. LXVI 278.

(b) 2nd terrace from top. S. face, between S.E. corner and centre.
Legend: – maḍḍī ku kon ḍuk tlār – "Maḍḍī, with the children, mount (the cart) first."
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 264.
Neg. 1972 (1918–19). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, pp. 110–1; Part II, Pl. LXIX 291.

(c) 2nd terrace from top. S. face, between S.E. corner and centre.
Legend: – wesantar kil kiryāh – "Vessantara gives ornaments."
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 264.
Neg. 1976 (1918–19). Cf. 1339 (1954–55), which shows degeneration of the plaque.
Epig. Birm. II, Part I, p. 112; Part II, Pl. LXX 295.

(d) Top terrace. S. face, between centre and S.W. corner.
Legend: – maḍḍī ḍuk ciṅ – "Maḍḍī mounts the elephant" (Triumphal return).
Vessantara Jātaka. See Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 303.
Neg. 1739 (1916–17). *Epig. Birm.* II, Part I, p. 140; Part II, Pl. LXXXVII 384.

Plates 329 to 334. *Ground-Plinth Tablets.*

See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 359–362.

Note. We now descend to the ground-plinth, with their two series of terracotta tablets, inscribed in Mon. One series, on the W. side of the temple, between the S. and N. entrances, shows

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the animals and monsters of Māra's army who attacked Gotama on the eve of his attaining Buddhahood. The other series, on the E. side, between the N. and S. entrances, shows the celestial beings celebrating the Buddha's victory. The legends at the base of the tablets repeat themselves over and over again; and I regret that I am unable to locate exactly where each is to be found. These ground-floor plaques, whose vocabulary and pictures are particularly precious, have suffered more than any others from the modern disease of whitewashing. To prove this, one has only to compare photographs taken in 1905–06 with any of the rest (except those kept in the museums) taken since the end of the second world-war. The photographs shewn below, except where otherwise stated, were taken by Tin Oo.

Plates 329–331. *Māra's army.* (*Māra bal*).

Plate 329.

(a) Māra bal yān kṣeh – "Riding Horses."

(b) Māra bal yān klaʾ – "Riding Tigers."
Cf. *Neg.* 357 (1905–06). Now at Pagán Museum. The plaque is 14¼ in. square, and 3 in. thick.

(c) Māra bal yān cīmcī – "Riding Tapirs" (?).

(d) Māra bal yān makar – "Riding Capricorn."
Cf. *Neg.* 24 (1954–55).

(e) Māra bal yān ot – "Riding the Camel."

(f) Māra bal yān sārdḍ(u)l – "Riding the Panther." (Sanskrit *śārdūla*).

Plate 330.

(a) Māra bal yān tlīṅ – "Riding Wild Dogs (or Jackals)."

(b) Māra bal yān byāl – "Riding Leogryphs (*vyāla*)."
Cf. *Neg.* 9 (1954–55).

(c) Māra bal yān nāg – "Riding Nāgas."

(d) Māra bal yān srīt – "Riding Rhinoceroses."
Neg. 5 (1954–55).

(e) Māra bal yān jlow – "Riding Cattle."

(f) Māra bal yān ciṅ – "Riding Elephants."
Neg. 248 (1954–55).

Plate 331.

(a) Māra bal mukh manu(s) – "With human faces."

(b) Māra bal mukh jādisiṅ – "With faces of Lions."

(c) Māra bal jruṁ tīt nor ktor – "With snakes issuing from their ears."

(d) Māra bal jruṁ boy mat – "With snakes as eyes."

The Buddha's Triumph.

(e) ‖ Dewatāw ma rap torin | – "Devas holding Arches."
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]. Cf. *Neg.* 395 (1954–55).

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Plate 332.

(a) ‖ wo' brumha ku in ‖ – "This is Brahmā and Indra."

(b) ‖ wo' smiṅ virūpakkha ‖ – "This is king Virūpakkha," Regent of the West, Lord of the Nāgas.

(c) opamaña yakkha senāpati – "Opamañña, general of the Yakkhas" (or Gandhabbas).

(d) (‖ panā)da yakkha senāpati – "Panāda, general of the Yakkhas" (or Gandhabbas).

(e) ‖ dewatāw brow ‖ – "Female Devas (*devī*)."

(f) ‖ dewatāw brow ‖ – "Female Devas (*devī*)."

Plate 333.

(a) kumbhaṇḍ ma rap snāk – "Kumbhaṇḍas holding Swords." Now at Pagán Museum.

(b) ‖ dewatāw ma rap snāk – "Devas holding Swords."
Neg. 402 (1954–55).

(c) ‖ dewatāw ma rap daṇḍadip – "Devas holding Lampstands."
Neg. . . . .

(d) dewatāw ma rap nandivar | – "Devas holding *nandiyāvaṭṭa*," lit. 'turning auspiciously' (see p. 362).

(e) ‖ dewatāw ma rap blaṅ ‖ – "Devas holding *blaṅ*" (see p. 362).

(f) ‖ dewatāw ma rap tuṁḥāy – "Devas holding Pots."

Plate 334.

(a) ‖ dewatāw ma rap troṅ – "Devas holding Caskets." (?)

(b) ‖ dewatāw ma rap paḍāk – "Devas holding Streamers."
Neg. 357 (1954–55). Sanskrit *patāka* (= flag).

(c) dewatāw ma rap ka' – "Devas holding Fish."

(d) ‖ dewatāw ma rap tjeḥ ‖ – "Devas holding Spears" (?).
Cf. *Neg.* 389 (1954–55).

(e) ‖ dewatāw ma rap cinrāṅ – "Devas holding Goad-Hooks."
Neg. 392 (1954–55).

(f) ‖ dewatāw ma rap sirīvāc – "Devas holding *śrīvatsa*" (auspicious hair-whorls – see p. 362).

Plate 335 to 350. MYINKABA KUBYAUKGYI TEMPLE OF RĀJAKUMĀR (*c.* 1113 A.D.).
See Text, Ch. XVIII, pp. 373–383.
Measurements. Exterior: – Total length 110 ft. Total breadth 64 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 45 ft. Length of Shrine 65 ft. Breadth of Hall 51½ ft.
Interior: – Corridor (E. to W.) 48½ ft. (N. to S.) 46 ft. 5 in. Hall (E. to W.) 24 ft. 5 in., (N. to S.) 21 ft. 7 in.

Plate 335. (full pl.). View from the S.
phot. Tin Oo. Cf. *Neg.* 3484 (1931–32); 5460 (1953–54).

Plate 336.

(a) View from the E. (the front).

(b) View from the S.E.
Cf. *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. XVIII (b).

(c) Groundplan.
Arch. Dept. drawing.

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Plate 337. (full pl.). *Quadrilingual Inscription. Pillar B (in situ).*

phot. Film & Stage Dept., taken from the S.E. The two faces shown are Pyu (on the left) and Pali (on the right). See Text, Ch. IV, pp. 73–74.

Note. This famous quadrilingual inscription, wrongly known as the Myazedi inscription, exists on two contemporary four-faced pillars. The smaller, but better-preserved one, Pillar A, is now Stone 10 at Pagán Museum. It stands 4 ft. 7 in. high; 14½ in. broad (N. & S.), and 14 in. broad (E. & W.). It was originally found on the N. side of the present Myazedi pagoda. The larger, finely engraved Pillar B was found in scattered fragments, now reassembled on the platform S. of the Myazedi pagoda. The Myazedi, a solid stupa, is a modern erection within the precincts of the old temple (*gū*) of Rājakumār. The contents of the inscription prove that the temple was built by Kyanzittha's son, Rājakumār, *c.* 1113 A.D., shortly after the death of his father. The arrangement and measurements of the four faces on the two pillars is as follows: –

	Pillar A (*Pagan Museum Stone 10*)			**Pillar B** (*in situ*)		
	Present face	*Inscribed surface*		*Present face*	*Inscribed surface*	
		Height	*Breadth*		*Height*	*Breadth*
PALI	W.	41 in.	14 in.	S.	55½ in.	20 in.
MON	E.	31½ in.	14 in.	E.	60 in.	12 in.
PYU	N.	40¾ in.	13½ in.	W.	47 in.	12 in.
BURMESE	S.	40 in.	13 in.	N.	55 in.	20 in.

For the four faces of both pillars shown side by side, see *I.B.*, Pl. IV 361 a, b (Pali), 362 a, b (Mon), 363 a, b (Pyu), 364 a, b (Burmese). All have been edited in *Epig. Birm.*, Vol. I, Part I (1919); the Burmese (pp. 1–46) and Pali (pp. 47–52) by Chas. Duroiselle; the Mon (pp. 53–58) and Pyu (pp. 59–68) by C. O. Blagden. For the latter's first readings of the Mon faces, see *JRAS* 1909, pp. 1017–52; 1910, pp. 797–812. For his first decipherment of the Pyu, see *JRAS* 1911, pp. 365–387.

Plate 338. *Pillar A, Pagan Museum Stone 10.*

(a) PALI (W.) face.
(b) MON (E.) face.
(c) PYU (N.) face.
(d) BURMESE (S.) face.

Negs. 33 B, 32 B. Cf., for Pillar B, *Negs.* B 215, B. 216.

Plate 339. *Windows on S. face of main block.*

(a) The 3 windows.
[Arch. phot.]
(b) The W. window.
[Arch. phot.]
(c) The middle window.
[Arch. phot.] Cf. *Neg.* 6293 (1955–56).
(d) The E. window.
[Arch. phot.]

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Plate 340. *Stucco-work on Hall.*

(a) S.E. corner.
[Film & Stage Dept. phot.]

(b) S.E. corner of Porch.
Neg. 6290 (1955–56).

(c) S. window of Hall.
Neg. 6292 (1955–56).

(d) N. side of entrance.
[Arch. phot.]

Plate 341. *Corner-Pilasters, Frieze, Dado.*

(a) Corner-pilaster at S.E. corner of main block.

(b) The same, upper part, with frieze and cornice.

(c) A section of the *kīrtimukha* frieze, N. side.

(d) Corner-pilaster at N.W. corner of main block, lower part.

(e) S.E. corner, including dado.
[All Arch. Dept. phot.]

Plate 342. *Details of exterior.*

(a) N.E. corner of main block.

(b) N.E. corner of Hall.

(c) N. face of main block, W. window.

(d) S. side of Hall (side-view from E.).

(e) Plinth of S. face (side-view from E.).

(f) E. front, N. of entrance.

Plate 343. (full pl.). *View of Hall and Interior from main entrance.*
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 344. *Three relief-sculptures of the Buddha, seated on lotus.*
[phot. Tin Oo]

(a) Seated in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, Earth-touching attitude.
(N. Corridor, outer wall, 2nd from N.E. corner).
Cf. *Neg.* 6436 (1955–56).

(b) Seated in *dharmacakra mudrā*, Preaching attitude.
(S. wall of Shrine, 2nd from S.E. corner).
Cf. *Neg.* 6445 (1955–56).

(c) Seated in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, Earth-touching attitude.
(S. corridor, inner wall, 2nd from S.E. corner).

Plate 345. *Bodhisattva/Brahmā/Arhat paintings in E. porch.*
See Text, Ch. XVIII, p. 375.
On N. and S. walls. The paintings are 15 ft. high.

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(a) N. Wall. Outline drawing of the 3 tiers. The Bodhisattva is ten-armed. Two Śaktis sit at his feet. *Neg.* 3868 (1934–35). See U Mya, *ASI* 1935, p. 103 and Pl. XXVI (f).

(b) S. wall. Middle section.
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]

Plate 346. *Paintings on inner wall of Corridor (lower tier).*

See Text, Ch. XVIII, p. 378.

The four selected panels show scenes at Sāvatthi, before and after the performance of the Great Twin Miracles. Each scene is identified by an ink gloss in Mon, written below it.

(a) S. wall, E. of central window.
Gloss: – ‖ tirta to' pa prātihār ‖
"The Heretics (try to) perform miracles."
Neg. 3487 (1931–32); 5330 (1953–54). For coloured facsimile, see *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, Frontispiece, and pp. 45–46, 184. Height: 3 ft.

(b) S. wall, E. of central window.
Gloss: – ‖ tirta to' twa ār tulum (..kamb)ār
"The Heretics, ashamed, go and drown themselves in a tank(?)". – The death of Pūraṇa Kassapa: see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dict. Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 242–3.
Neg. 3488 (1931–32).

(c) S. wall, E. of central window, S.E. corner.
Gloss: – kyek buddha tarley tin tāwatiṅ ‖
"The lord Buddha ascends to Tāvatiṁsa."
Neg. 3486 (1931–32).

(d) W. wall, N. of central window.
Gloss: – devorohanakāle ‖
"At the time of the Devas' Descent." Descent from Tāvatiṁsa.
Neg. 4724 (1948–49). *Pict. Guide....*, p. 75.

Plate 347. *Specimens of Jātaka paintings on outer wall of Corridor.*

(a) W. face – 3 tiers.
[phot. Film and Stage Dept.]
Glosses: – Top line: ‖ kuroṅgamiga jāt ‖ bodhisat das tḅoṅ
[sambur deer. Jātaka 206]
‖ assaka jāt ‖ bodhisat das risi ‖
[hermit. Jātaka 207]
‖ suṅsumāra jāt ‖ bodhisat has smiṅ knuy
[king of monkeys. Jātaka 208]
Second line: ‖ lābhagaraha jāt ‖ bodhisat das disāpāmokkha
[world-famous teacher. Jātaka 287]
‖ mac(ch)udḍāna jāt ‖ bodhisat das ñaḥ suṁgeḥ
[rich man. Jātaka 288]
‖ nānā(ch)anḍa jāt ‖ bodhisat das smiṅ
[king. Jātaka 289]

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3rd line: ‖ mittavinda jāt ‖ bodhisat das dewatāw
[a Deva. Jātaka 369]
‖ malāsa jāt ‖ bodhisat das ḅap thar
[golden goose. Jātaka 370]
‖ dighatissakosala jāt ‖ bodhisat das dīghāvukumār
[the youth Dīghāvu. Jātaka 371]

(b) S. face – 2 tiers.
Glosses: Upper line: ‖ gajakumbha jāt ‖ bodhisat das amāt
[minister. Jātaka 345]
Lower line: ‖ gijha jāt ‖ bodhisat das timān ‖
[vulture. Jātaka 427]

(c) W. face – 1 tier.
Gloss: – ‖ ummaṭantī jāt ‖ bodhisat das smiṅ ‖
[king. Jātaka 527]

Plate 348. *Paintings in the Hall.*

(a) N. side arch-pediment.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Paintings on the E. side of the N. arch-pediment.
[phot. Tin Oo]

For a reproduction in colour, see A. B. Griswold, *Burma Korea Tibet* (Art of the World, 1964), Pl. 9, p. 55. The upper line of gloss (not visible on this print) says: – "The *devaputta Subrahmā* with 500 women comes to listen to the Law, and attains the state of Stream-winner." For the story, see Malalasekera, Vol. II, p. 1226.

(c) S. wall, W. of top of arch.
Neg. 3316 (1930–31).

The gloss at the base begins: – "King Ajātasatru comes. . . ." Probably this refers to his visit by night, with Dr. Jīvaka, to the Buddha in the Mango Grove at Rājagaha. See Malalasekera, Vol. I, pp. 31–32.

Plates 349, 350. *Old Mon glosses below paintings on sides of archway leading to Shrine.*
[phot. Tin Oo]

The Mon text of these and the other ink-writings in this temple is edited in full in Vol. II of the *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission*, from p. 331 onwards. Of the glosses here illustrated (mostly concerned with the coming of Buddhism to Ceylon, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*), we give only the bare translations, together with the serial number of each gloss as printed in the *Bulletin*.

Plate 349.

(a) Gloss 185. *The Buddha's first visit to Laṅkā* (S. wall. Tier A).

"At the site of *Nāgavana* garden, all the spirits [Yakkhas] who dwelt in *Laṅkā* were about to fight. The lord Buddha stations himself in the sky above, produces a hurricane, creates darkness, and frightens them (till) they beg release from terror."

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(b) Gloss 186. *The Buddha's first visit to Laṅkā* cont.

"In the island of *Laṅkā* the lord Buddha spreads his leather mat. That leather mat extends further and further. Those spirits [Yakkhas] dwelling in the island of Laṅkā descend into the water of the ocean up to their necks. He frightens them once more (?)."

(c) Gloss 190. *The Buddha's visit to Nāgadīpa* (S. wall. Tier B).

"In *Nāgadīp* two Nāga kings, nephew and uncle, were about to fight. The lord Buddha came and confronted (?) the two Nāga kings, and warned and reconciled them again to one another."

(d) Gloss 210. *Kālanāgarāj creates an image of the Buddha.* (N. wall. Top tier).

"This is king *Kāla*, king of the Nāgas. He creates a likeness of the Buddha, and shows it to king Dhammāsok" (Aśoka).

Plate 350.

(a, b) Gloss 194. *Dhammâsok sends gifts to Devānaṁpiyatis* (S. wall. Tier E).

"In the island of *Siṅghal* [Ceylon], it was king *Devānaṁpiyatis* who was reigning. He was a friend of king *Dhammāsok*. King Dhammāsok sent him ornaments of sovrainty, (including) three shoulder-loads of water of *Anowatat* [Anavatapta Lake], and other valuables also. He said to his friend: – 'These Three Refuges – may he make his real harbour therein!' After that, king Devānaṁpiyatis went hunting in the forest, and had his private interview with (?) the reverend *Mhāmahin* [Mahinda]. The reverend one called the king and asked him the question about the Mango Tree. After that, the king came to welcome him, and took him back to the city."

(c, d) Gloss 217. *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, No. 276 (N. wall, bottom tier).

"In the city of *Indapaṭhanagrar* [Delhi ?], king *Dhanañjay* of the *Korappa* dynasty observed the Law of the Kurus. Even as he observed it, these ten persons also observed it. At that time, in the (capital) city of *Kāliṅga* kingdom, rain had not fallen for twelve years. The king sent (persons) to come and ask for the Elephant. But though the Elephant duly came, the rain still did not fall. They then came and wrote down the Law (which) that king observed, and came back home and observed it. Thereupon the rain fell and the famine cleared."

Plates 351 to 356. LOKA-HTEIKPAN TEMPLE.

See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 384–388.

Faces N., a furlong N. of Shwehsandaw pagoda, ⅓ mile S. of S.E. corner of Pagán city wall.

Measurements: – Exterior: – Total length 51¾ ft. Length of Hall 18½ ft. Length of Shrine 33¼ ft. Max. Breadth 32 ft.

Interior: – Length of Hall and Shrine 32⅓ ft. Length of Hall 13⅓ ft. Length of Shrine 19 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 20 ft. Breadth 25 ft.

For full details and illustrations, see Bohmu Ba Shin, *The Lokahteikpan* (1962, Rangoon, Burma Historical Commission).

Plate 351.

(a) View from the N.E. before repairs.

Neg. 3500 (1931–32).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) Longitudinal Section.
Drawing by Htwé Sein (Arch. Survey).

(c) Ground-Plan.
Drawing by Htwé Sein.

Piate 352. (full pl.). View of Shrine, with Earth-touching Buddha in foreground, and the Eight Scenes painted on the S. wall (about 18 ft. square).
[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plate 353.

(a) Foot-prints of the Buddha, in *kyāk taṅuiy* frame. – A painting on ceiling of the Hall.
Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 7, 8.

(b) Lotus lake. The Womb of Creation. – A painting on the soffit of the four pendentives of the Shrine, immediately above the main image.

(c) The Nativity (bottom right corner of the Eight Scenes) – A drawing of the painting by U Aye Myint (Amarapura Weaving Institute).

(d) Floral details – A drawing of a portion of the shoulder-nimbus of the Buddha, and a floral band.
Drawn by U Aye Myint.

Plate 354. Paintings on the E. wall of Shrine.

(a) *Dussa Thūpa* in Brahmaloka (top tier, S. side).
"A thūpa built in the Brahma-world by Ghaṭīkāra, enshrining the garments worn by the Buddha at the time of his Renunciation" (Malalasekera, Vol. I, p. 1100). The fragmentary Mon inscription below the painting reads as follows: – "The ..... of the lord Buddha which remain in Brahmaloka, worshipped at all times by all the Brahmās who dwell in Brahmaloka."
Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 87, 119, 144.

(b) *Vejayanta pāsāda* of Sakka in Tāvatiṁsa (top tier, centre).
Painting (top part only) above the Buddha seated in the centre. (See Malalasekera, Vol. II, p. 915). The fragmentary Mon inscription below (2nd line, S. side) reads as follows: – "..... (in) Tāvatiṁsa on the [throne] Paṇḍukambala, under the Coral Tree *Pārikajāt* [Pāricchattaka, *Erythrina indica*], in Vejayanta pavilion of Sakra king of Devas, [the lord Buddha] preached the *Abhidhamma*...." etc.
Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 87, 119, 144–5, 191.

Plates 355. *Jātaka paintings* on W. wall of Shrine.

(a) Top tier, 3rd panel from S. W. corner.
Gloss: – "8th *nipāta. Kaccāyanagotta* Jātaka [The Bodhisattva] was king *In* [Indra]." *i.e.* Kaccāni Jātaka, No. 417 (first in the 8th *Nipāta*). The gloss is in Old Mon.
Neg. 3510 (1931–32). See Cowell's translation, Vol. III, pp. 253–6.

(b) 2nd tier, 8th panel from S.W. corner.
Gloss: – "50th *nipāta. Nilinī* Jātaka. The Bodhisat was a hermit." *i.e.* Naḷinikā Jātaka, No. 526, first in the *Paṇṇānipāta*. See Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 100–106.

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(c) 3rd tier, 1st (and 2nd) panels from S.W. corner, and the first to have a Burmese gloss: – "80th *nipāta. Sutasoma* Jātaka. In this existence [Brahmadatta, king of Benares] hangs the princes from the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*)." "When the lord Buddha was preaching the Law, the monks asked for a repetition (of the story of the past)."

Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, No. 537, is the last in the *Asītinipāta*. See Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 258 follg. Immediately after this Jātaka, begins the *Mahānipāta*, to which the rest of the Jātaka paintings in this temple are devoted. The 2nd panel introduces this section with a picture of the Buddha throned under a tree, being asked by four kneeling monks to repeat (Sanskrit *anuvāc, anuvākya*) these stories of the past.

Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53, 90–91, 121–122.

Plate 356. *Jākata paintings* on W. wall of Shrine.

(a) 6th tier, panels (4 scenes) from S.W. corner. *Mahājanaka Jātaka.*

Burm. Gloss: – "The ship crosses (the sea). When the ship splits. He talks to Manimekhalā. Manimekhalā, rescuing the Bodhisattva from the water, flies off with him." ....

See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 22–24. Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 93, 124.

(b) 7th tier, 8th scene from S.W. corner. *Suvaṇṇasāma Jātaka.*

The Burmese writing below is crushed and faint: – "The Bodhisattva makes his mother and father stay in the hermitage. He draws water and gives them to drink. He searches for fruits and gives them to eat. King *Pilayak* leaves the village and goes hunting and eating deer. On seeing the Bodhisattva, and wanting to know (who he is), he shoots an arrow just as he was drawing water and drinking it. When king *Pilayak* knows that the Bodhisattva is dead, he raises the palms of his hands above his head and weeps." ... See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 42 follg. Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–58, 96, 126.

(c) 10th tier, 4th scene from S.W. corner, on the S. side of the arch-window.

Candakumāra (or *Khaṇḍahāla*) Jātaka. – The Burmese gloss, here large and clear, reads: – "The brahman called *Kandahāl* is taking the king's beloved wives and children, his elephants, horses, buffaloes, cattle and goats, to give them as food to the fire." ... See Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 70 follg. Cf. Ba Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 98, 129.

ALÔPYI' TEMPLE, Gu 228.

Plates 357, 358. S.E. of the Htilôminlô.

See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 388–391.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length 69¾ ft. Breadth 44⅓ ft. Length of Shrine 44½ ft. Breadth of Shrine 44⅓ ft. Length of Hall 25¼ ft. Breadth of Hall 31½ ft.

Interior: – Length of Shrine 28⅙ ft. Breadth of Shrine 28 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 25⅓ ft. Length of Hall 13½ ft. Breadth of Hall 15½ ft. Length of Corridor (N.) 28¼ ft. Breadth of corridor 7 ft. Breadth of window 3⅙ ft. Breadth of central niche 3⅓ ft. Minimum breadth of central mass 12 ft. 1 in. Height of window from floor 9 ft. 5 in.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Plate 357.

(a) View from the S., after repairs.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) View from the N., before repairs.
Neg. 5384 (1953–54).

(c) Groundplan.
[Drawn by Bo Hlaing]

(d) View from the S.E., after repairs.
[Arch. phot.]

Plate 358.

(a) *Painted panels with glosses, illustrating the preaching of Suttas.* (Outer wall of Corridor. E. wall, S. of entrance). 3rd-5th tiers from top.

Top line: – . . . tos dutiya khata sut ‖ tos tatiya khata sut ‖ tos catuṭha khata sut ‖ kyāk buddha tos maggaṅga sut ‖ tos pānātipāta sut

2nd line: – . . . sut ‖ tos satipaṭhāna sut ‖ kyāk buddha tos saṅkappadhāna sut ‖ tos iddhippāda sut ‖ tos indriya sut ‖ tos bāla . . .

3rd line: – ‖ kyek tos catasso sut ‖ kyek buddha tos . . . . . ‖ kyek buddha tos pubbe sut ‖ kyek buddha tos no . . . sut

(b, c) Two niches in central mass for standing images.

(d) Central mass from S.E. corner.

Plates 359 to 361. HPYATSA SHWÉGU TEMPLE AND STUPA, W. of Myinpagán.

See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 397–398 (temple); Ch. XIII, pp. 279–280 (stupa).

Measurements of temple. Exterior: – Total length 74¾ ft. Length of Shrine 42¾ ft. Length of Hall and Porch 32 ft. Breadth of Shrine 43 ft. Breadth of Hall 38½ ft.

Interior: – Length of Shrine 29¾ ft. Breadth of Shrine 29 ft. 7 in. Length of Hall 19¼ ft. Breadth of Hall 19 ft.

Plate 359.

(a) View of temple and stupa from the S.E., before repairs.
[Film and Stage Dept. phot.]
Cf. *Neg.* 6253 (1955–56).

(b) Temple after repairs.
Neg. 9040 (1960–61).

(c) Stupa N. of the temple.
[phot. Lavaud]

Plate 360.

(a) Lifesize wooden statue of Bodhisattva-king, found in the temple and photographed outside the porch. Now at Pagán Museum. Cf. Pl. 422 f (*infra*).
[Film and Stage Dept. phot.]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) Stucco carvings at base of inner archway of Hall (S. side).
[Film and Stage Dept. phot.]

(c) Ground-Plan of temple.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 361.

(a) Pedimented inner archway of Hall, with Shrine beyond.
[phot. Lavaud]

(b) Top of the archway.

(c) S. side of the pediment.

(d) N. side of the pediment.

GU 180.

Plate 362. 100 yards E. of Nagayôn temple. The temple faces E.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 398.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length 75½ ft. Breadth 40 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 34 ft. Length of Archway and Shrine 41½ ft. Breadth of Hall 30½ ft.

Interior: – Length of Hall 17 ft. From Hall to end of Porch 16 ft. Breadth of Hall 16 ft. Length of Archway from Hall to Corridor 6½ ft. Breadth of Archway 10¼ ft. Length of E. corridor 27¼ ft. Length of S. Corridor 28 ft.

Plate 362.

(a) View from the S.

(b) W. (inner) archway of Hall. Makara-Śrī pediment.

(c) Perforated brick window with pediment on W. face.

(d) The Nativity. Brick sculpture in N. recess of central mass.

(e) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing. All phot. by Tin Oo]

Plates 363, 364. MON TEMPLE N.W. OF SCOVELL'S PAWDAWMU.
See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 398–399.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 53 ft. Breadth of Shrine 52 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 36 ft. Breadth of Hall 34 ft.

Interior: – Length of Shrine 40 ft. Breadth of Shrine 38 ft. Length of Hall and Porch 35 ft. Breadth of Hall 21½ ft. Length of Hall 22¾ ft.

Plate 363.

(a) View from due S.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

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Plate 364.

(a) View from the S.W.
[phot. Tin Oo]
Cf. *Neg.* 3560 (1932–33).

(b) View from the E. (the back).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Cloth image of the Earth-touching Buddha (S. corridor, outer wall, upper tier).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Central window on N. side, made of perforated brick.
[phot. Tin Oo]

HSULÉGÔN GU 202.

Plate 365 a, b. E. of the Shwe Chaung.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 399.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 41 ft. Of Hall and Porch 34 ft. Breadth of Shrine 41 ft. Of Hall 38 ft. 10 in.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 14 ft. Of Hall 16¼ ft. Of Hall and Porch 28½ ft. Breadth of Shrine 16¾ ft. Breadth of Hall 15 ft. 5 in.

(a) View from the S. (The *chattrāvali* visible above the porch, belongs to another temple at the back).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

WUTKYIN TEMPLE.

Plate 365 c, d. S.W. of Taungbi village, E. of Pagán city-moat. Faces E.
See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 399–400.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length 42 ft. Breadth 25 ft.
Interior: – Length 32¾ ft. Breadth 15¾ ft.

(c) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 366 a, b, c. 'MON' TEMPLE S.E. of MYAZIGÔN PAGODA.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 400. Faces W.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 46 ft. Of Hall and Porch 32¾ ft. Breadth of Shrine 44¾ ft. Of Hall 30½ ft.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 31⅓ ft. Of Hall and Porch 32 ft. 5 in. Length of Hall 18 ft. Breadth of Hall 15½ ft. Breadth of Shrine 31¼ ft.

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(a) View from the back (S.E.).
(b) View from the back (N.E.).
(c) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

(d) 'MON' GU N.E. OF NGA-KYWÈ-NĂDAUNG PAGODA.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 401. Faces E.
Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]
Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 28½ ft. Breadth of Shrine 27¼ ft. Length of Hall 5¾ ft. (Porch ruined). Breadth of Hall 13 ft. 7 in.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 17 ft. Breadth of Shrine 15 ft. Length of Hall 6 ft. Breadth of Hall 6 ft. 7 in.

(e) RUINED 'MON' GU N.W. OF MYINPYAGU PAGODA.
Hall and Outer wall of corridor fallen. Faces W.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 400.
Ground-Plan of central mass.
(drawn by Bo Hlaing).

(f) 'MON' GU S.E. OF MIN-O-CHANTHA PAGODAS.
See Text, Ch. XIX, pp. 400–401. Faces W.
Ground-Plan (drawn by Bo Hlaing).

Plate 367 (a, b). RUINED 'MON' GU S.W. OF SEIN-NYET GROUP.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 401. Faces E.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length 60¾ ft. Breadth 36 ft. Length of Shrine 35¾ ft.
Interior: – Central mass 12 ft. (E. to W.), 10 ft. (N. to S.). Breadth of Corridor 7 ft.
(a) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]
(b) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Plate 367 (c, d). RIUNED 'MON' GU N.W. OF SEIN-NYET GROUP.
See Text, Ch. XIX, p. 401. Faces E.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length 54 ft. Breadth 28 ft.
Interior: – Breadth of Shrine 17 ft. 11 in.
(c) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]
(d) Ground-Plan.
[drawn by Bo Hlaing]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Plates 368 to 375. SHWÉ-GU-GYI TEMPLE, PAGÁN (1131 A.D.).

See Text, Ch. XX, pp. 407–409.

Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Hall 31¾ ft. Breadth of Hall 49⅔ ft. Length of Shrine 67¾ ft. Breadth of Shrine 67¾ ft.

Interior: – Length of Hall 24½ ft. Breadth of Hall 25 ft. Length of Shrine 46 ft. Breadth of Shrine 47 ft. 7 in.

Platform: – Length 151 ft. Breadth 78¼ ft. Height 13¼ ft. (N.E. corner); 18¾ ft (S.E. corner); 13 ft. (N.W. corner); 16½ ft. (S.W. corner).

Plate 368.

(a) View from the E.NE. (1903–04).
Neg. 97 (1903–04).

(b) View from the W.
Neg. 5539 (1954–55).

Plate 369.

(a) View from the N.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 370 (full pl.). View from the N. Main entrance.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 371.

(a) Side-Elevation.
[Arch. drawing]

(b) Longitudinal Section.
[cf. Arch. Dept. drawings 830–832]

(c) Ground-Plan.
[Cf. *Neg.* 5520]

Plate 372.

(a) View from the S.

(b) Śikhara and top terraces.
Neg. 6314 (1955–56).

(c) *Makara* and *Kyāk Śrī* (right side of *clec* of S. entrance).
[phot. Ba Shin]

(d) S. entrance and platform cornice, with rows of Devas and glazed crenelles.
[phot. Ba Shin]

(e) Square-arched window of staircase (W. face of Hall).
[phot. Tin Oo]

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Plate 373.

(a) *S. wall of Platform*, showing three tiers of stucco carving above the cornice: (i) the double lotus bed, (ii) glazed crenelles, (iii) rows of praying Devas.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Detail: five of the praying Devas.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 374. *Measured drawings.*

(a) *Haṁsa* wood-carving on W. door (N. wing).
[Arch. drawing]

(b) N.E. corner of main block: pilaster; corner-stupa; *kīrtimukha* frieze; dado.
[Arch. drawing]

(c) Plinth-moulding at S.E. corner, 1st upper terrace.
[Arch. drawing]

(d) Plinth-details.
[drawn by Rangoon University Students of Architecture]

Plate 375. *Corner-Pilasters, stucco-carving.*

(a) S. face, S.E. corner of Shwégu-gyi.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) For comparison: – N.E. corner of Ratanabiman Paya-hla, Pagán.
[phot. Tin Oo]

SEIN-NYET GROUP.

Plates 376, 377. S. of Nagayôn temple.

Plate 376. *Sein-nyet-ama temple.* Faces E. The back (W.) entrance abuts on to the main road.
See Text, Ch. XX, pp. 409–411.
Height about 90 ft.

(a) View from the S.E.
[phot. Tin Oo] Cf. *Neg.* 1493 (1915–16).

(b) View from the N.E.
Neg. 5482 (1953–54).

(c) Longitudinal Section.
Cf. Arch. drawing 457 (1920–21); 458 (Elevation, E. face).

(d) Ground-Plan.
Arch. drawing 456 (1920–21).

Plate 377. *Sein-nyet-nyima cetiya*, on the E. side of the temple.
Height about 90 ft.
See Text, Ch. XIII, p. 280.

(a) Temple and *cetiya*, from the S.E.
[phot. Lavaud]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) *Cetiya*, corner view.
Neg. 5483 (1953–54). *Pict. Guide....*, p. 57. For the *cetiya*, full face, cf. *ASB* 1916, Pl. IV (1). See also *ASI* 1907, Pl. IX (a) and pp. 30–31.

(c) *Cetiya*, top part.
[phot. Kyaw Htun]

(d) *Aṇḍa* and *harmikā*, close-up.
Neg. 355 (1905–06).

(e) Corner-stupas, close-up.
Neg. 354 (1905–06).

TAINGCHUT (TUIṄKʿET) temple.

Plate 378. Outside the Tharaba Gate of Pagán (*c.* 1140 A.D.).
See Text, Ch. XX, pp. 411–412.
Measurements. Exterior: – Length of Shrine 37⅚ ft. Of Hall and Porch 16 ft. Max. Breadth 36 ft. Breadth of Hall 30⅔ ft.
Interior: – Length of Shrine 19 ft. 11 in. Breadth of Shrine 18⅙ ft. Max. Breadth of Hall 12⅓ ft.

(a) View from the W. front.
[phot. Tin Oo]
Cf. *Neg.* 5389 (1953–54), view from the N.W.

(b) View from the S.SW.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Longitudinal Section.
[Arch. drawing]

(d) Ground-Plan.
[Arch. drawing]

Plates 379 to 390. THATBYINNYU (SABBAÑÑU) TEMPLE, PAGÁN.
See Text, Ch. XX, pp. 412–417.
Measurements. Height 210 ft. Length 240½ ft. Breadth 215½ ft. Breadth of E. Hall 104 ft.

Plate 379. (full pl.). *Two Bell-Pillars* of carved stone, S.E. of the temple, in the S.E. corner of the city-walls.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 380. *Bell-Pillars.* Details of stone carving.

(a) S. pillar. S. face. (Cf. *Neg.* 5395 (1953–54).

(b) N. Pillar. S. face.

(c) S. pillar. E. face.

(d) S. pillar. S. and E. faces.

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Plate 381.

(a) Distant view of the temple from the S.E., with the bell-pillars in the foreground.
[Arch. phot.]

(b) N. gateway of the old outer enclosure-wall (now lost). Front view.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) The same. Angle view.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Interior arching of the N. gateway.

Plate 382. (full pl.). View of the temple from E.NE., against storm-clouds.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 383.

(a) View from the N.E. (Găyu Paya, 'Tally pagoda', in foreground).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) View from S.SE., as it was 60 years ago.
Neg. 95 (1903–04).

Plate 384. (full pl.). View from the S.W.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 385.

(a) View from W.SW.
[Arch. phot.]

(b) View from due N. (N. gateway in foreground).
Neg. 5394 (1953–54).

Plate 386.

(a) Longitudinal Section.
[from Pl. 7 of Yule, *Narrative of the Mission..... to the Court of Ava in 1855*, London, 1858.]

(b) Plans of the four storeys.
[Arch. drawings]
Cf. *Neg.* 5518 (1953–54), ground-plan.

Plate 387.

(a) Ground-floor. Central staircase, with Guardians and Mon-Burmese pediment.

(b) Main lower block. Medial band and tiers of windows, near N.E. corner.
Neg. 2007 (1919–20).

(c) 1st entresol. Ramp leading to main (3rd) storey. From the N.E.
Neg. 2008 (1919–20).

(d) Treble *clec* archway leading to the Shrine (3rd storey). From the N.E.
Neg. 2010 (1919–20).

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Plate 388. Lower Terraces.

(a) Lowest terrace above ground-storey. S. side.

(b) The same. Medial Stupa above S. Hall.

(c) S.W. corner-stupas of the three lower terraces. From the middle terrace.

(d) The same. From the lowest terrace.

[All phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plate 389.

(a) 1st entresol. Ramp leading to the 3rd storey. From the S.E.

(b) Treble *clec* archway (3rd storey). From the S.E.

(c) The same, close-up. From the S.E.

(d) Ascent to the Śikhara by medial stairways.

Neg. 6311 (1955–56). [a, b, c phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plate 390.

(a) Image in main Shrine (3rd storey).

(b) Distant view of temple from the S.W., with Nat-hlaung-gyaung on the left.

[a, b phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

(c) W. Hall. *Kyaktaṅuiy* Ceiling painting (the only original painting now left).

[phot. Tin Oo]

Plates 391 to 397. DHAMMAYAN-GYI TEMPLE (*c.* 1160 A.D.).

A mile S.E. of Pagán city.

See Text, Ch. XX, pp. 417–422.

For measurements, similar to those of Nanda but rather larger, see the comparative list on pp. 418–419 of the Text.

Plate 391. (full pl.). Front (E.) view of temple, taken from within the enclosure-wall.

Neg. 2115 (1920–21).

Plate 392. (full pl.). W.SW. view, taken from field outside the enclosure-wall.

[phot. Tin Oo]

Patel 393.

(a) E.SE. view, taken from outside the enclosure-wall.

Neg. 5436 (1953–54).

Cf. *Pict. Guide*....., p. 48.

(b) S.W. corner-view, taken from within the enclosure-wall.

[phot. Tin Oo]

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Plate 394.

(a) Main S. entrance to Hall (lower *clec* only).
Neg. 2121 (1920–21).

(b) E. side-entrance to S. Hall, with double pediment and vista.
Neg. 2122 (1920–21).

(c) Pedimented window (lower tier) near S.E. junction of E. Hall and main block.
Neg. 2123 (1920–21).

Plate 395.

(a) Square-arched window on W. side of N. Hall.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Upper pedimented window-arch, S. face (lower *clec* only).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Square-arched window on S. side of W. Hall.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 396.

(a) Two tiers of pedimented windows, S. face, E. side.

(b) Two tiers of pedimented windows near S.E. corner, main block.

(c) Triple-pedimented entrance to false upper storey, E. face, above E. Hall.

(d) Ascent to ruined Śikhara, S. face.
[All phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plate 397.

(a) Gotama and Prabhūtaratna Buddhas – Mahāyānist image in W. Hall.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Ground-Plan of temple, showing blocked passages.
[from *A.S.B.* 1904–05]

Plates 398, 399.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Plate 398.

(a) Old Mon inscription on 'Wébu stone' (mica schist), still *in situ* at the N.W. foot of Kyauksè Hill, Tawyagyaung Sīmā. 22 lines.

See Text, Ch. VI, p. 106.

The inscription, "No. XI", has been edited by Blagden at *Epig. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 70–73 and Pl. X. See also Duroiselle's *List*, Appendix A, No. 13; *U.B.* II, p. 243; *Neg.* 8035 (1957–58).

This inscription, the northernmost in Old Mon yet discovered, records the building of a *baddhasim*, or permanent Buddhist Chapterhouse, at the site with the permission of the Pagán *mahāthera* and the king of Pagán (Shin Arahan and king Kyanzittha ?).

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(b) Old Mon inscription on a brick from a ruined pagoda on Kyúndaw island (Old Burm. *Prañtawsā klwan*) in the Irawady, 4 miles below Mi-gyaung-yè, Magwé district. 5 lines.

See Text, Ch. VI, p. 105.

Our print is taken from rubbings kindly supplied with transcription, by Mon Bo Kay of the Burma Archaeological Department.

This inscription, together with many at Pagán, marks the western limits (so far as we know at present) of written Mon, apart from a few votive tablets left at Bodhgayā in India. The writing is in good 11th century cursive of a rather archaic type.

(c) Old Burmese inscription on a brick from a ruined shrine in a field S. of Shwéhsandaw pagoda, Pagán. 2 lines.

See *Neg.* 4132 (1938–39); Lu Pe Win, *ASB* 1939, Pl. IV (b) and pp. 9–10.

I read: – ‖ o ‖ uīẏ (p)laṅ sā ṅā mīyā te ā(sū) hū mu ka ṅā katsapā te

"*Uīw' Plaṅ Sā* is my wife. Who (am I)? I am *Katsapā*."

Writing and spelling are both archaic Burmese, 11th-12th century A.D.

Plate 399. (full pl.). *Ceylon, Devanagala Rock Inscription* (1165 A.D.). 22 lines.

See Text, Ch. VII, p. 123.

Our print is taken from a photograph generously supplied by the Government of Ceylon, together with relevant volumes of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The inscription, first edited by H. C. P. Bell in 1892 (*Archaeological Report on the Kegalla District*, Ceylon Government Sessional Papers, No. XXX of 1892, pp. 73–76), has been re-edited, with facsimile plate, by Dr. S. Paranavitana in *Epig. Zeyl.* Vol. III, Part 6, pp. 312–325: "No. 34, Devanagala rock inscription of Parākramabāhu I." It is dated in the 12th year of that monarch, 1165 A.D. Compare also the longer account of the invasion of Burma in Ch. 76 of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* (13th century A.D.).

Plates 400 to 406. 'ANDAGU' (DOLOMITE ?) STONE PLAQUES carved with the Eight Scenes (and Seven Sites).

See Text, Ch. IX, pp. 151–153.

Plate 400. (full pl.). Stone plaque found in Sept. 1922 by Shwé Mya of Nyaung-u West village, in a field close to the Shwézigôn pagoda, Pagán. It is now thought to be lost. It measured 8½ in. high by 6½ in. broad.

Neg. 2304 (1922–23). See *ASB* 1923, Pl. II, fig. 1, and pp. 30–31; 1959, p. 89, fig. 59; *ASI* 1923, Pl. XXXIII (d) and p. 123.

The Eight Scenes are arranged as follows: – Cetiya and Parinirvāṇa at the top. Nālāgiri Elephant, First Sermon, and Nativity, in tiers down the left side. Descent from Tāvatiṁsa, Twin Miracles, and Pārileyyaka monkey, in tiers down the right side. Large in the centre sits the Crowned Earth-touching Buddha. Two Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Padmapāṇi, stand on either side of the Buddha. Above them, a forest of figures indicates the Assault of Māra. Below, two Nāgas support the Buddha's lotus throne. In the bottom corners four dancing women represent the Temptation by Māra's daughters. In bottom centre Elephant and lions crouch on guard.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Plate 401. (full pl.)

Stone plaque in the possession of Saya U Thaung, Inspector of Schools, Shwébo. Found at a pagoda near the Brick Monastery, Tabayin, Shwébo district. Now on loan at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Height 6.8 in. Breadth at base 4.6 in. Thickness at base 1.3 in.

The arrangement is as follows: – Under the Cetiya and Parinirvāṇa at the top, an archway of peepal foliage shades the main figure – a Crowned Earth-touching Buddha, seated between two standing Bodhisattvas, with Māra and his demons possibly above them. Two wide-straddling Nāga kings support the lotus-throne, framed at the sides with Elephant, Vyāla, and Makara superposed. Beyond the Bodhisattvas at each side, are two columns of figures in four tiers. The top three tiers of the two outer columns present the usual six Scenes: on the left, Nālāgiri Elephant, First Sermon, and Pārileyyaka retreat; on the right, Descent from Tāvatiṁsa, Twin Miracles, and Nativity. In the lowest tier, Mucalinda Nāga sheltering the Buddha on the right, and the Fast or *Dukkhacariya* on the left. The two inner columns show Standing Buddhas in the top tier; Buddhas seated, without almsbowls, in *dhyānamudrā* under trees, in the 2nd tier; Buddhas in *dhyānamudrā* also in the 3rd tier; but here the one on the left has the almsbowl (? Sujātā's offering), and the one on the right is sheltered once again by the Mucalinda Nāga. In the 4th tier there are just two saints, probably Sāriputta and Moggallāna, kneeling in prayer. A crouching elephant and lions guard the base.

Plate 402. Two stone plaques excavated by U Mya in mounds N. of Taw-ya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya, S. of Pagán.

See *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 180 (items 4 and 5), and Part II, Pl. C (d, c).

(a) *Neg.* 3394 (1930–31).

"A small sculptured stone slab illustrating the eight principal scenes from the life of the Buddha, recovered from among the debris of a ruined temple.... N. of Tawyagyaung monastery." (U Mya's Plate C d). "Total height: 3¼ in."

Below Cetiya and Parinirvāṇa bier at the top, a large-leaved peepal tree spreads an arch above the Buddha, seated as a monk, uncrowned, on leather mat, touching Earth. He has the uṣṇīṣa, and ūrṇā above the joined curves of his eyebrows. Two straddling figures below support the corners of the lotus throne. A childlike Bodhisattva stands on either side, with (possibly) Māra above on the left and two demons on the right. There is only one column of side-scenes on each side: on the left, Nālāgiri Elephant, First Sermon, and Pārileyyaka retreat; on the right, Descent from Tāvatiṁsa, Twin Miracles, and Nativity. Elephant and lions guard the base. – This plaque is, pretty certainly, crude local work, though based on North Indian models. Before assigning these 'andagu' plaques to either country, one would like to identify the stone (translated 'dolomite' in the dictionaries), and know whether it is found in central Burma.

(b) *Neg.* 3402 (1930–31).

"5. Another slab of stone sculpture of the same type as No. 4, but larger in size. It measures 6½ in. in height, and contains additional scenes, the number of scenes being fourteen instead of eight as ordinarily represented (Plate C c)."

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The surface of the plaque is worn; and while it is larger than (a), there are four tiers and double columns on each side; so that the scenes are crushed, and admit only a single figure, usually a Buddha in one of his normal attitudes. This makes several of the scenes hard to identify except by comparison with other stone plaques (see Pls. 401, 403 a, b and 405).

Cetiya and Parinirvāṇa scene fills the top, as usual. In the centre the Buddha sits touching Earth between standing Bodhisattvas. The lotus throne is supported by straddling figures. Elephant and lions guard the base. The arrangement of the six side-scenes, outer columns, corresponds to that on Pls. 403 a, b and 405, with the Nativity on the left edge and Pārileyyaka on the right; not to that on Pl. 401, where these positions are reversed. Here, too, the Buddha is robed as a monk, not crowned as a king in Pl. 401. The scenes on the inner columns roughly agree with all the others: standing Buddhas in the top tier (the one on the left, as in Pls. 403 a and 405, probably has both hands in *vitarkamudrā*); seated Buddhas in *dhyānamudrā*, without bowl, in the 2nd tier; with bowl, in the 3rd tier (sheltered by Mucalinda Nāga on the right). In the 4th tier, inner column, there are praying monks, as in Pls. 401 and 403 a, b; in the outer column, as in Pl. 403 a, a pair of seated Bodhisattvas.

Plate 403.

(a) *Neg.* 953 B (1962).

Stone plaque from Myinpagán, with bottom left corner lost. See *ASB* 1923, Pl. III, fig. 1, and pp. 30–31. "For purposes of comparison", says Duroiselle, "I reproduce ... a similar slab of stone measuring 7 in. by 6 in. It may now be seen in the Museum, Pagán. Originally, it was found in the possession of a Buddhist monk at Myinpagán, according to whom it was discovered while clearing the débris in the relic chamber of a ruined pagoda" near the village... The central figure is broken across the waist....."

The arrangement of this four-column plaque is almost the same as that in Pl. 402 b. Apart from the loss of the bottom left-outer figure (probably a seated Bodhisattva balancing its fellow on the other side), it is less damaged and broader, the inner columns being stepped up to prevent confusion with the outer. Under the Parinirvāṇa bier, the arching peepal merges on both sides into a jungle of Māra's army, above the pair of graceful standing Bodhisattvas. The monk Gotama, touching Earth, is backed with *haṁsa*-shouldered architecture, as in many sculptures of Kyanzittha's reign. In the top corners are Devas flying in the clouds. The standing Buddhas of the top inner tier are distinguished: if the one on the left is in double *vitarkamudrā*, the one on the right stands in *abhayamudrā*. Minute but clear detail makes this intricate stone carving a joy to the eye.

(b) *Neg.* 3142 (1928–29).

Stone plaque unearthed at a mound E. of Nyaunggwè S. village, Mandalay. See *ASI* 1929, Pl. LII (e) and p. 113. "Certain persons", says Duroiselle, "digging for bricks at an old mound at Nyaunggon, Mandalay, discovered the fragments of a stone sculpture which were afterwards pieced together. The sculpture ... measures 7½ in. in height, and is of exquisite workmanship.... It resembles very closely the fragment found at Sarnath by Mr. Oertel" [*ASI* 1905, p. 84, fig. 8],

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"and sculptures found at Pagán.... According to Dr. Vogel" [*J.A.S.B.* 1915, pp. 301–2], "who describes a similar sculpture from Ceylon, these Pagán sculptures may be assigned to the ancient Magadha country, i.e. Southern Bihar, and to about the 11th–13th century A.D. The sculpture at Mandalay was found with terracotta votive tablets of the Pagán type belonging to the 12th–13th century."

This tall narrow plaque is of the four-column type, with side-scenes meagre and crowded. The straddling Nāga kings supporting the lotus throne are conspicuous, displacing the additional 4th (bottom) tier. In the 3rd (outer) tier the Nativity is shown on the left, corresponding (no doubt) to the Pārileyyaka scene on the right; the latter is lost except for the feet of the Buddha, who doubtless was shown sitting in *pralambanâsana*.

Plate 404. (full pl.). *Neg.* 5876 (1954–55). Stone plaque found in 1955 by Htwé Sein, in a mound 20 yards N.E. of Upali Thein, between Pagán and Nyaung-u. See *ASB* 1955, Pl. 9, and p. 14.
Height 5 in. Breadth $3\frac{2}{5}$ in. Thickness (at hollow base) $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. Now at Pagán Museum.

This broad and beautiful plaque, with its abundance of detail almost intact, is of the two column type, i.e. presenting the Eight Scenes but not the Seven Sites. In the Nativity (bottom left), Pajāpatī stands gracefully on the right of Māyā; on the left, the Babe is taking his first steps. Tiers of Devas frame the Buddha preaching his First Sermon (mid left), with Wheel (full face) and Deer affronted below. The Nālāgiri elephant (top left) is shown on the inner side of the walking Buddha. In the Descent from Tāvatiṁsa (top right), Brahmā and Indra are shown, with a dancing Devī above the latter, and Sāriputta half-kneeling below. In the scene of the Twin Miracles (mid right), two small *nirmāna*-Buddhas are shown in *pralambanâsana*, with flying gods above them, on either side of the Buddha seated crosslegged in *dharmacakra mudrā*. In the Pārileyyaka scene (bottom right), the Monkey is seen gambolling in the trees above, approaching the Buddha from the left with the gift of honeycomb, and (probably) falling head-foremost down a well on the right. In the Parinirvāṇa (top), the Cetiya fills the peak; Ānanda kneels weeping below the *Sāla* tree on the right. The Earth-touching Buddha (centre) is robed as a monk, has his *ūrṇā* and flame-tipped *uṣṇīṣa*, and sits against a background of *haṁsa*-shouldered architecture, set within the living arch of peepal, Māra's monsters, and a slim pair of Bodhisattvas; who both stand in *abhayamudrā*, making their bends adornings. Exquisite, too, is the grace of the two Nāga kings, striding and straining forward with their tilted crowns and ear-lobes, to uphold the lotus.

Plate 405 (a, b, c). Stone plaque at Shwezigôn pagoda, Yamèthin (3 aspects). Found in the relic-chamber (middle casing) of this encased stupa.
[phot. by courtesy of U Ôhn Maung, Yamèthin]

Another specimen, mostly well-preserved, of the four-column type, but narrow, so that the side-scenes are meagre, and confined usually to a single figure apiece. The three aspects show how the planes recede from the centre to the edges; so that the inner columns, seen in the round, are more distinct from the outer, than one might think from the purely frontal view. One notices also the soft rondure of the Buddha-type in these 'andagu' slabs, so different from the strong tall torsoes of the early terracotta plaques of the 'Aniruddha type.' The latter appear to stem

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from East Bengal models. Whether the 'andagu' slabs are of similar origin, is a moot point. A similar difference makes itself felt between the sculptural types affected by Aniruddha, and those favoured by Kyanzittha.

Plate 406.

(a) *Neg.* 4131 (1938–39).

'Andagu' fragment found in a field near an old tank S.E. of the Nanda enclosure-wall, Pagán. See Lu Pe Win, *ASB* 1939, Pl. IV a, and p. 9.

This fragment appears to come from the top right corner of a stone plaque carved with the 'Eight Scenes' and 'Seven Sites.' It includes the right side of the arch enshring the central Buddha, now lost. At the base is the slim Bodhisattva standing in *abhaya mudrā*. Above him are two soldiers of Māra's army, attacking. On the right, are two tiers of scenes, perhaps from an 'inner column' showing the Seven Sites: – above, a haloed Buddha standing on double lotus, his inner hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, his outer drooped (perhaps in *varada mudrā*; below, a haloed Earth-touching Buddha (not in *dhyāna mudrā*, as is usual).

(b, c) Miniature model (fragmentary) in 'andagu' stone of the *Śikhara* of the *Śrī Vajrāsana* (Mahābodhi) temple, at Bodhgayā in India. Obtained from a monk at Shwégyaung monastery, N. of the circular brick tank, Taungbi village. Now in the possession of U Tin Aye, headmaster of the Lacquer School, Pagán. Height 4 (+) in. Breadth at base 2 in.

(b, c) – Front and Corner aspects. [phot. Ba Shin]

Note the *āmalaka* fruits at each alternate corner-tier, and at the top. For a similar miniature of the Bodhgayā temple, in bronze, see *ASI* 1928, Pl. LVII (a) and p. 184. It was found in 1927 at Jhewari in Chittagong district, together with 61 Buddhist images, etc., "the biggest hoard of images ever found in Bengal... [They] belong to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism prevalent in this part from the 7th-11th centuries A.D. Stray examples of Buddhist cult images have been recently recovered in Chittagong, but the present find proves the existence of a local centre of Buddhist art forming a valuable link in the chain of its development and its migration to Burma. Some of the specimens show clear affinities to the bronze images of the Nālandā school, certain others to Burmese bronzes. Thirty-three of the images represent Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, the heights ranging from 15¼ in. to 2¼ in.... Other important objects ... are a miniature of the Mahābodhi shrine at Bodhgayā studded with semi-precious stones of which some are still left, and approximately assignable to the 10th century A.D., and a votive stupa crowned by two umbrellas." For a different miniature model of a Bodhgayā śikhara, see Pl. 427 c, *infra*.

Plates 407 to 418. MISCELLANEOUS IMAGES,

mostly stone reliefs now at Pagán Museum.

Plate 407.

(a, b, c). *The Enlightenment.* – 3 relief-sculptures in soft sandstone, now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. They show the Buddha seated on double lotus in *padmâsana*, touching Earth. Right shoulder bare. Left shoulder-flap clear, and two hems above the ankles. Flame-niche above the *uṣṇīṣa*.

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Back-slab bare except for the *chattra*, faintly visible at the peak. The image-style may be called 'Old Mon', of the solemn early 'Aniruddha type', with tall torso and long fingers and toes delicately carved.

Height about 31½ to 33½ in. Breadth at base 20 to 21½ in. Depth at base 8½ to 10½ in. [phot. Tin Oo]

(d) *The Fast.* – Relief-sculpture now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. The Buddha sits in *padmâsana, dhyāna mudrā*, under a tree. No lotus mat. His ribs are conspicuous, and stomach indrawn. On each side of him stands a Deva in *namaskāramudrā*. In the predella sit 5 Devas offering lotus stalks.

(e) Relief-sculpture now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. The Buddha sits in *padmâsana, dhyāna mudrā*, almsbowl in lap. No lotus mat. There is *haṁsa*-shouldered architecture behind his beaded nimbus. In the predella sit 7 royal figures or Devas, making offerings (bowls of food ?). – Is the scene that of Bimbisāra's offerings, when the Buddha visited Rājagaha after his Enlightenment? Height 34 in. Breadth at base 26¾ in. Provenance not stated. Top broken.

(f) Relief-sculpture now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. The Buddha sits in *padmâsana, dhyāna mudrā*, almsbowl in lap. No lotus mat. There is *haṁsa*-shouldered architecture behind him, with foliations. In the predella sit 8 royal figures, mostly offering bowls of food or flowers, the king in left centre upholding a document (?). – The scene, similar to (e) but better preserved, refers very likely to the same occasion, at Rājagaha, when Bimbisāra made his offering of the *Veḷuvana* (Bamboo Grove).

Plate 408 (a, b, c). *The Enlightenment.*

Negs. 2516, 2517, 2518 (1924–25).

A stone relief "found in a small ruined temple near the Ananda temple at Pagán." See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1925, Pl. III, fig. 1 (side-view), and pp. 25–26; *ibid.*, p. 54, No. 15, where it is said to have been "originally found in the Hna-kyeik-shit-su temple near the Ananda." See also *ASI* 1925, Pl. XXXIV (h), and pp. 110–111. On p. 111 it is described, perhaps wrongly, as coming from the Kubyauk-gyi: there are several temples of this name at Pagán, but none, I think, that is near the Nanda; and comparison with *ASB* 1925, p. 54, Nos. 12–14, suggests to me that there has been a further confusion with Wet-kyi-in Kubyauk-ngè, i.e. Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngè.

The Buddha sits in *padmâsana*, touching Earth, on double lotus, against an architectural backslab, with lozenges (symbolizing the holy Rays) at the shoulders. The image is inscribed on the back.

(a) Front view.

(b) Side View.

(c) Rough Old Burmese inscription on the back: –
pan phāy sā ṅā (r)eñ "Nga Reñ, the blacksmith's son" – presumably the donor.
In style, one may class the image as Mon/Indian.

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(d, e) *Neg.* 2038, 2039 (1919–20), Obv. and Rev.

Head and torso of an inscribed sandstone image of a smiling Buddha found within the precincts of Nanda temple. The left hand was probably in the lap. The large ears reach to the shoulders. The right arm is broken below the shoulder. The shoulder-flap is clear. Nimbus, vertical shoulder-gnomon, and plain square-pillared frame are seen on the right of the backslab. At *ASB* 1920, p. 33, Nos. 48–49 (List of photographs), and again in *List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of Burma*, p. 26 (Nos. 2038, 2039), it is wrongly described as a "terracotta plaque." The stone is now in the E. shed at Pagán Museum. The style is typically 'Mon'.

Height 11½ in. Breadth 7½ in. Thickness 1½ in.

(e) The Reverse, shows the beginnings of 2 (or more) lines of Old Mon: –

(*pāntyā*) . . . | *wo' su(ṁ)*. . . . . .

"Musician-dancer (?) . . . . . this . . . . the *suṁbeṅ* (?) . . . . . ." – Perhaps the donor was a high Mon official called a 'thambyin'.

(f) Terracotta head and torso of the Buddha. Right arm lost from the shoulder. Left arm lost below the elbow. End of nose and top of uṣṇīṣa damaged. No shoulder-flap. Ears touch shoulders. 'Mon' style. Found near the river, S. of Lokananda.

[phot. Tin Oo]

Height 10 in. Breadth 5½ in. Thickness 2¾ in.

Markings: No. 9/55, 4/168.

(g) *Neg.* 2279 (1921–22).

Large brick and plaster image, typically 'Mon', of the Buddha seated in Earth-touching attitude. It is in Gu 2278, a furlong E. of Mingalazedi. The roof has now (1960) fallen in, and only parts of the top of the image down to the waist are visible. The top of the head is mostly gone, except for the brick backing and right ear, and the fine stone-tenon carved to form the smiling lips and chin.

Plate 409.

(a) *Neg.* 1744 (1917–18).

Stone relief found among the ruins of a temple at Wet-kyi-in village. See Taw Sein Ko, *ASI* 1918, Part I, Pl. XVII, fig. 3, and p. 28. Now at Pagán Museum.

The Buddha sits in *padmâsana, dharmacakra mudrā*, on double lotus, against an architectural backslab with *haṁsas* at the shoulders. Fine 'Mon' type.

Height 44 in. Breadth 27 in. Depth at base 9¾ in. The ink writing at the side says it comes from "Wet-pyauk pagoda." This name is not now known. Mon Bo Kay suggests that it may be an abbreviation of Wet [-kyi-in Ku-] pyauk [-ngè], i.e. Shwe Chaung Kubyaukngè temple.

(b) Weather-worn stone relief of the Walking Buddha, now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. The Buddha stands on double lotus stool against a back slab broken on both sides. His robe is swinging

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to the right. His right arm, hanging, is damaged below the elbow. His left hand is against the breast. Left shoulder-flap visible, right shoulder bare. 'Mon' type.
Height 32 in. Breadth of back-slab 16½ in. Depth at base 8 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) *Neg.* 3116 (1928–29).

Terracotta image of *Vessabhū* Buddha, found in relic-chamber of a mound in Aung Hla's field S.W. of Htilominlo temple. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, Pl. LII (d), and pp. 109–111. The same relic-chamber contained two images of the Fat Monk (Pl. 91 a), and votive tablets of the Buddha seated between two "hermits, chiefs of the *Saṅgha*" (Pl. 59 a, Mon/Pali gloss), The same mound contained several five-figure tablets signed by Aniruddha (Pl. 8 a). The unique image of Vessabhū, large-handed, which sits with high conical uṣṇīṣa, on its bare pedestal touching Earth, "corresponds", says Duroiselle, "in every detail to Gotama, the identity being revealed only by a two-line [Pali] inscription round the pedestal: –

yo vessabhū sarādharo ca anantabuddhī sattuttamo desa[balo].... [dhamma]
kāyo lokecakkhu asamo sugato anejo vandāmi taṁ sarīdharaṁ atulam munindaṁ .....

"The (Buddha) Vessabhū, the Glorious, of Infinite Wisdom, the Greatest among beings... the One Spiritual Eye in the world, the Incomparable, the Blessed One, the Desireless: Him I revere, the Glorious, the Admirable, the Chief of Sages."

(d) Stone relief of Buddha, head and torso, with hands holding before the body, a bag-like object with ring at the top (or is it the bundle of grasses given him by Sotthiya?). Bare arching back-slab. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(e) Stone head of Buddha, with conventional bead-curls and large plain *uṣṇīṣa*, protruding eye-balls, and brow-ridges. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(f) *Neg.* 3435 (1931–32).

Stone image (without reredos) of the Earth-touching Buddha, found in the E. mound at Myinkaba village-temple.
Height, including double lotus, nearly 3 ft.
See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CVII a, and Part I, p. 189. He dates it "about the 11th–12th century A.D."

Forehead, right shoulder, and left knee damaged. Left shoulder-flap clear. Right shoulder bare. Face and torso full and somewhat effeminate: in style quite different from the 'Aniruddha Mon' type, and perhaps rather later. But the carving of hands and toes still careful and delicate.

Plate 410.

(a) *Neg.* 3558 (1932–33).

Suddhodana presents the Babe to Kāḷadevala. The top part of this beautiful relief is lost, and much besides is damaged. Of the five figures shewn, all have lost their heads, except the bearded

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Rishi; and of his 'two-horned' headdress, part is damaged. Suddhodana and he kneel, knee to knee, in the centre. The king's hands support the body of the Child, and the Rishi's hands his feet. The Child sits up facing the Rishi, with left hand raised in *abhayamudrā*. Behind the king, kneels (probably) *Pajāpatī*. Behind the Rishi, sits his little nephew, *Nalaka*. For the story, see Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s. v. *Asita*. Height 23 (+) in. Breadth 23 in. Thickness 7½ in.

(b) Terracotta image of the Buddha seated on his mat in *padmâsana, dhyāna mudrā*. Said to come from a ruined temple near the Hpetleik pagoda, Thiripyitsaya. Note the stout arms, legs and torso.
[phot. Lavaud]

(c) *The Tonsure.* Stone relief with broken top, originally from the Shwé Chaung Kubyauk-ngè temple.Now at Pagán Museum.

Gotama sits in *padmâsana* on double lotus. He has undone his hairknot (contrary to the texts) and has his right arm high to cut it near the head, and his left hand low holding the end of the hair. Height 32 (+) in. Breadth 18 in. Thickness 8 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) *Neg.* 3182 (1929–30).

Yasodharā sends Rāhula to ask his father for his inheritance.

This fine stone relief, "found in a ruined temple" at Pagán, is badly damaged, the top, including the heads of the Buddha and Yasodharā, being lost. She stands in prayer on the left, with a little girl hiding behind her. Young Rāhula, with ear-tubes and coif, stands graceful and confident facing his father, who stands on the right with monastic robes outspread, holding his almsbowl before him. For the story, see Malalasekera's *Dictionary*, s.v. *Rāhulamātā*. Height 27 (+) in. Breadth at base 23¼ in. Thickness at base 6 in. Now at Pagán Museum.

(e) *Visākhā and the elephant.* (?)

The top of this weatherworn stone relief is lost. On the left is a small elephant being pushed back by the tusks (it seems) by a gigantic figure whose body is lost above the waist. The scene is watched by a row of 7 women with hairknots, shown on the predella. For the story, see Malalasekera's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 902. The scene is also shown in painting, on the N. face of the archway leading to the shrine, in Rājakumār's Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi temple. (For the gloss, see *Bull. Burm. Hist. Com. II*, p. 402, no. 216).
Height 12 (+) in. Breadth 16¼ in. Thickness 7 in. Provenance not stated. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(f) *Taming of Nālāgiri elephant.* – Small stone relief, with top left corner of the reredos broken. Now at the East Shed, Pagán Museum. The short large-headed Buddha is in walking pose, with left hand holding a lapel of robe below the shoulder, and right hand drooped to stroke the uplifted trunk of the minute elephant (now damaged). On each side stands a monk with beaded halo, holding an almsbowl. All three stand on small round lotuses. The reredos shows architecture

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with *haṁsa* shoulders and lotus-leaf nimbus. A rug-fringe falls over the pedestal below the Buddha's feet. – This image, Burmese, not Mon in style, may well belong to the latter part of the Pagán period. Height 42 in. Breadth 24½ in. Thickness 13 in. Provenance not stated.

Plate 411.

(a) *Stone Triad relief.* Damaged at top, especially top right. Three Buddhist figures seated on one double lotus. Tallest, in the centre, the Earth-touching Buddha, with tall conical *uṣṇīṣa*, seated in *padmâsana* on mat. On the left (the Buddha's right), is another Buddha with similar *uṣṇīṣa* not quite so tall. He sits in *padmâsana*, with both hands raised, probably in *vitarka mudrā*. On the right, headless and damaged, sits a figure in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right knee raised and left flat, hands resting on the knees, feet meeting but not crossed. This is clearly the Pyu type of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. There is a broad band across his chest, but not the usual starlike stomacher. Height 10 (+) in. Breadth 8½ in. Thickness 2¾ in.

(b) Cf. *Neg.* 3926 (1936–37).
[phot. Tin Oo]

Stone Dyad relief. Found in a small temple "about 300 ft. to the W. of Kyazin" temple, Myinpagán. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1937, p. 78, and Pl. XXX b.

On a ledge-mat edged with lotus leaf resting on a high double lotus pedestal, sit two figures, almost equal in height. On the left, slightly taller, sits the Earth-touching Buddha in *padmâsana* under an incised nimbus, his almsbowl perhaps resting on the large hand in his lap. On the right (the Buddha's left) sits the Pyu type of the Bodhisattva Maitreya in *rājalīlā* pose. He wears a pointed crown (*kirītamukuṭa*), hanging ear-ornaments, torque, upper armlets (*keyūra*), wristlets, anklets and sacred thread (*upavīta*). His right hand rests on his right knee, his left on his left thigh. At the back of both, there is a plain pointed backslab.

(c) *Neg.* 3466 (1931–32).

Stucco image of a seated Bodhisattva, found in a small ruined temple facing W. (brick mound No. 2) in Maung Do's field S.E. of Nagayôn temple. He sits on a high drum-like stool (with waist), in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, right wrist resting on raised knee, left hand on pedestal behind his flat left knee. He wears a high pointed *mukuṭa*, and the usual elaborate torque, girdle, hanging ear-ornaments, etc.
See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 190; Part II, Pl. CVIII a.

(d) *Neg.* 3185 (1929–30).

"A crowned Buddha standing on a lotus – both hands missing – found at a mound near Tawyagyaung," Myinpagán. – See *ASI* 1930, Pl. XLI f, and p. 158. He stands with robes outspread on double lotus. His hollow arms are lost below the elbow; the hands were probably raised in some double *mudrā* (*vitarka* or *abhaya* ?). There is a plain arching backslab.

(e) *Neg.* 3415 (1930–31).

"A stone sculpture discovered at a mound to the S. of Tawyagyaung monastery," Thiripyitsaya. See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Pt. II, Pl. C (a), and Pt. I, p. 179. "A fragment of a small stone

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sculpture in relief with the upper portion missing was found among the débris inside a relic-chamber beneath the main pedestal on the ground floor of the temple. It contains in the centre an image of the Buddha seated crosslegged in the earth-touching attitude on a lotus throne. Flanking him are two Bodhisattvas, both seated in the *lalitamudrā* with the right leg pendent. Below the throne ... there are ten seated figures, nine ... in the *namaskāra mudrā*. The figure on the extreme right has a shaven head and is seated crosslegged in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*." – The Bodhisattva seated under the stupa on the left, with his right hand on his knee in *varada mudrā*, and his left hand holding the stem of the lotus full-blown above his left shoulder, is certainly Lokanātha. The damaged Bodhisattva on the right (the Buddha's left), is doubtless Maitreya.

(f) *Neg.* 4016 (1937–38).

"Fragment of a stone sculpture in relief, showing a four-armed Bodhisattva flanked by two *Śaktis*, found in U Pyant's field east of Seinnyet temple", S. of Myinpagán. See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1938, Pl. II (b), and p. 8: – "The central figure is four-handed, but the head is missing and the legs have worn off. It is flanked by two females; the one on the left has become much damaged. In its present condition it is difficult to identify exactly the principal personage, who is a Bodhisattva attended by two Śaktis; thus, the sculpture is Mahāyānist in character and belongs to the 12th to 13th century."

Plate 412.

(a) Stone head of the Buddha. Provenance not stated.
[phot. Lavaud]

(b, c) Stucco head (front and side aspects) of a Bodhisattva (?). Found in a group of temples near Wet-kyi-in village.
[phot. Lavaud]

(d) Stone head of a Monk. Provenance unknown. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(e) *Neg.* 3923 (1936–37).

Crude stone statue, portrait-figure of a Donor (?). Found in "a circular mound of bricks measuring 50 ft. in diameter at the base with a height of 8 ft. in the centre. ... 2 furlongs N.W. of Kôktheinnayôn at Myinpagán." See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1937, p. 77: – "(2) Stone figure (2 ft. 6 in. high) seated in the 'adamantine pose' with both hands brought together against the chest, palms inwards. He wears a belt round his waist and the usual ornaments round his neck; his hair is gathered in a low knot on the top of the head. This is probably a representation of the founder."

(f) *Neg.* 3461 (1931–32).

"A head, in plaster, of a Monk found in a brick mound (No. 1) in Maung Toe's field to the S.E. of Nagayôn temple."

Plate 413.

(a) Rimmed stone plaque (top right corner lost) showing a figure (head lost) holding a lotus (?) and kneeling in worship before a lampstand (*daṇḍadīp*). Provenance not stated. Now at Pagán Museum. Height 10¼ in. Breadth 9⅜ in. Thickness 2 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

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(b) Stone plaque (damaged at top right corner), perhaps illustrating *Sambula Jātaka* (No. 519). On a long carved pedestal sit three figures: in the centre a bearded hermit (? *Sotthisena*) – head now lost – seated in *padmâsana*, touching Earth (?); on the left a king (? *Sakka*) in *namaskāra mudrā*; on the right a woman (? *Sambulā*) with round ear-plugs, also in *namaskāra mudrā*. Cf. *supra*, Pl. 323 a. Height 13 (+) in. Breadth 15½ in. Thickness 4⅔ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Fragment of a small terracotta plaque, perhaps illustrating a Jātaka. No writing. On the left side (all that remains) stands a strong man wearing a waist-cloth with tassels on each side, and carrying with both hands a pole (?) behind his shoulders. Style rather similar to that of the Hpetleik Jātakas, but the size here is smaller. Height 11 in. Breadth 6¼ (+) in. Thickness 2¼ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Right side of a large terracotta plaque in two fragments. It has Burmese markings in black ink – $\frac{218}{61}$, (the top), and $\frac{4}{286}$ (the bottom). There is no old writing. It was found at the side of the road, about 200 yards N. of Saw Lu Gôn, the junction with the road to Chauk of the side-road to Thiripyitsaya. It shows 8 or more men wearing striped waist cloths, and high-towered hair-knots with waving tassels, apparently dancing with swords and other weapons in each hand. Height 20½ in. Breadth 16⅓ (+) in. Thickness 3 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 414.

(a) *Neg.* 1533 (1915–16).

Stone relief-fragment, from spandrel of an arch. A *Gandharva* king flying in the clouds, bearing on his head an offering. Provenance not stated. Now at Pagán Museum.
Max. height 11 in. Max. length 15 in.

(b) *Neg.* 3464 (1931–32).

"A *Makara* water-spout in stone recovered from the debris of a temple in ruin in Maung Toe's field S.E. of Nagayôn temple." Now at Pagán Museum.
Max. height 11¼ in. Max. length 15 in.

(c) *Neg.* 2900 (1927–28).

"A small stone *Stūpa* found within a relic-chamber of the mound in Shwé So's field N. of Sômingyi pagoda." Now at Pagán Museum. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1928, p. 124: – "Four feet from the top, there was found a miniature stone stūpa in a small brick chamber; this chamber was 2 ft. 6 in. in height ... The stupa itself is 1 ft. 2 in. in height and 8 in. in diameter at the base. It consists of a dome resting on two circular terraces and surmounted by the diminishing rings that now represent the stone discs of the umbrella in old Indian stūpas, and crowned with an *āmalaka*. The dome together with the mouldings above is detachable from the terraces. Within the cavity in the latter were found some ashes... and small caskets of extremely thin plates of gold and silver. On the four sides of the stūpa were found eight stone bricks, two on each side, one being laid over the other with, between them, two very thin plates, one of gold

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and one of silver..." The stone bricks measure 4 in. × 2 in. × ¾ in. For other miniature stone stupas at Pagán, compare *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pls. XCIX (e), CVII (b), CVIII (c).

(d) Stone *Lotus finial*, with overlapping petals and hollow centre. – From Hsutaungbyi pagoda, W. Pwazaw. Marking in black ink 260/62. Now at Pagán Museum.
Height 6 (+) in. Circumference at base 15½ in. Diameter at base 4¼ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(e) Round stone *Bowl with lid*. – Now at Pagán Museum.
Height 6 in. Circumference 30 in. Diameter 9 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 415.

(a) Stone *head of a Bodhisattva* (or king or Deva), with high pointed *kirītamukuṭa*. Eye-ridges joined. Almond-eyes. Indian style. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Fine stone statuette of a standing man (both head and feet lost), with open robe looping at the breast, striped waistcloth, lappet hanging in front. Right hand hanging at the side, left raised before the breast, with middle finger touching thumb. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Stone head, with brow-arches, goggle-eyed, conical *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Headless Brahmanical seated image of light white stone. The god (? Viṣṇu) sits in *padmâsana* on fretted mat and thick squared double lotus throne. His right hand holds a rosary before the body; his left arm is broken, but the hand rests, palm upward, on the right sole. An incised hem of clothing falls diagonally from left shoulder to waist. The stone appears to have been integrated with pillar or backslab behind. Now at Pagán Museum.
Height 5 (+) in. Breadth at base 4 in. Thickness at base 3 in. Compare Pl. 417 (a), *infra*.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(e) A Chinese god (?), headless, with feet squared and ribbed standing on a bed of overlapping petals. Robes heavy, creased and tumbled, hooks and trinkets looping from the shoulders. Hands holding mace and paraphernalia. Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

BRAHMĀ.

Plate 416.

(a) *Neg.* 1104 (1912–13). A stone relief, now at Pagán Museum.
Brahmā seated in *padmâsana*, and doubtless *namaskāra mudrā*, on plain pedestal, against plain backslab. Top left corner of backslab broken. The god has the usual three fully visible heads

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(the fourth invisible), and three broad *jaṭāmukuṭa* merging into one – here a little damaged at the top.

Cf. Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Pl. XXII 28, and pp. 64–65, 93. He dates it 10th century A.D.
Height 13 in. Breadth at base 10¼ in. Thickness at base 4½ in.

(b) An almost identical stone relief image of Brahmā, but much better preserved. Now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The crowning double-lotus finial is clearer than in (a).

(c) *Neg.* 855 (1909–10).

An almost identical stone relief-image of Brahmā, superficially damaged. Formerly in Phayre Museum, Rangoon. U Mya tells me it came from Thatôn originally (as, indeed, all three probably did). Cf. Ray, *Brahm. Gods*...., Pl. XXII 29, and pp. 64, 93.
Height 1 ft. 4 in. Breadth 1 ft.

(d) Damaged stone head of *Brahmā*, without backslab. Now at Pagán Museum. Provenance not stated.
Height 4 in. Breadth 3¼ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 417.

VIṢṆU.

(a) Small sandstone image of four-armed Viṣṇu, seated, now at Pagán Museum. Provenance not known. He wears a pointed *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, and sits in *padmâsana* on fretted mat and thick squared double lotus and pedestal. In his upper right hand he holds the Wheel (*cakra*); in his upper left possibly the Club (*gadā*), but the backslab is damaged. He seems to hold a fruit in the lower right hand before the chest, and in the lower left, resting on the right sole, perhaps the Conch (*śaṅkha*). Compare Pl. 415 (d) *supra*.
Height 8 in. Breadth at base 5½ in. Thickness 4¼ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) The top half of a much-weathered stone relief recently found on the Buddha's throne in Pagán Shwégugyi. It seems likely to present the crowned head and torso of an ancient image of the four-armed Viṣṇu, such as one finds at several spots at Śrī Kṣetra: see *Neg.* 621 (1908–09) from Pogaungkan; *Neg.* 784, 785 (1909–10) from Pokungôn; *Neg.* 3765 (1934–35) from E. Zégu. The attributes of the four arms in the Pagán sculpture are not easy to identify: the lower two are lost below the elbow. At Śrī Kṣetra the two upper hands usually hold the *Śaṅkha* (Conch) and the *Cakra* (Discus): the lower left hand rests on the *Gadā* (Club), the lower right may hold a fruit (*mātuluṅga* ? or *āmalaka* ?). Now at Pagán Museum.
Height of fragment 6½ (+) in. Breadth 9 in. Thickness 3 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 418.

ŚIVA.

(a) *Neg.* 3126 (1928–29).

"A stone sculpture depicting a form of Śiva," found on the riverbank W. of Shwé Ônhmin monastery, Myinpagán. Now at Pagán Museum. The God is seated in *rājalīlâsana* on squared

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double lotus and high indented throne, his right foot on the *apasmāra puruṣa*, lit. epileptic, the symbol of Dirt. See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, p. 112: – "The image of Śiva was found ... close to a tank, where it was gradually exposed by flood. The figure is very much damaged.... It has four hands, but their attributes are defaced and cannot be made out. The stone measures 2 ft. 4 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. with a thickness about 9½ in." Cf. Ray, *Brahm. Gods in Burma*, Pl. XVII 22 and pp. 60–61, 92. Ray dates it 10th–11th century A.D. "The *apasmāra-puruṣa*", he says, is "known only in South India as associated with Śiva" (see Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, p. 39 and fi. 242).

(b, c, d, e, f). *Negs.* 3929, 3930, 3931, 3932, 3933 (1936–37).

A weather-worn five-sided pillar-base, broken at the top. The five corners are each guarded by standing crowned Devas, probably Hindu, bearing clubs and other attributes (not clear). Found in a mound N. of Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngè temple.
Height 13½ (+) in. Breadth 5 to 6 in.

Plates 419 to 423. WOODCARVING (now at Pagán Museum).

Plate 419.

(a) *Neg.* 1098 (1912–13). Black teakwood. Findspot at Pagán not stated.

Descent from Tāvatiṁsa. On round double-lotus footstool, the Buddha stands as if walking, in graceful *tribhaṅga* pose, left hand swinging his robe at the shoulder, right hand broken at the elbow. *Brahmā* with broad triple *jaṭāmukuṭa* stands on the right (the Buddha's left) in sunlight, holding the shapely *chattra* above the Buddha's head, casting a dome of shade. Leaning between them, is a neat little ladder, with rungs extended beyond the verticals, to simulate the triple staircase. On the other side *Indra*, with high coiled *jaṭā* within the *kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-plugs and ear-flaps soaring and sinking, torque, sash and tasselled waistcloth, holds the almsbowl. Sāriputta, kneeling in sunlight at the Buddha's feet, adds depth to the whole design. A low throne with inner band and two recessions to the sides, supports the group, and the bare, shouldered reredos arches it. – While closely following Indian models, the mastery of the local artist in woodcarving relief, is beautifully revealed. Height 27¾ in. Breadth at base 17½ in. Thickness at base 8¼ in. Height of Buddha 18¾ in.

(b) *Neg.* 1101 (1912–13). Teakwood. Find-spot at Pagán not stated.

The Buddha standing between Sāriputta and Moggallāna. – Note the contrast between the intricate but powerful carving of the lower half, and the plain simplicity of the three holy figures, standing on lotuses above. At the base, a boldly modelled *kīrtimukha* holds in teeth and hands two twining lotus-stems with climbing *gaṇas*, which shoot up at the sides to form the pericarps, on which two childlike monks stand facing front, their robes spread open at the ankles. Their heads reach barely to the level of the Buddha's waist. Their hands are joined in worship. On the broad arching back of the *kīrtimukha*, sit a lion and two *vyālas*, frontal and half-frontal. These,

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in turn, support the squared throne, projecting in the centre, retreating to the sides, and top and bottom. On it rests the round double-lotus footstool on which the straight-towering Buddha stands, robes widespread, right hand in *varada mudrā*, left before the body. The narrow nimbus, pointed at the peak, descends in steep, broadening steps to form the sides. – I do not know if any special scene in the Buddha's life is here intended. Height 56 in. Max. breadth 22½ in. Thickness at base 7¼ in. Height of the Buddha 30½ in.

(c) *Neg.* 1100 (1912–13). Teakwood gilded. Find-spot at Pagán not stated.

The Buddha standing between Sāriputta and Moggallāna. – As in (b), all three figures are straight and towering. Design similar to (b), but shorter and a little simplified. The Buddha's nimbus has only one bend at the shoulders (its top right corner is lost). The lotus stems at the sides are not twined. There are no climbing *gaṇas*. – It is quite possible that (b) and (c) date from the latter (Burmese) part of the Pagán period. Height 49¼ in. Breadth at base 18½ in. Max. thickness at base 7¾ in. Height of the Buddha 30 in.

Plate 420.

(a) *Neg.* 1099 (1912–13). Find-spot not stated. Now at Pagán Museum.

Wooden Buddha (or Monkey simulating a Buddha ?), dressed as a monk, with *uṣṇīṣa* and left shoulder-flap, seated on a thick waisted wooden stool in *pralambanâsana*, hands crossed against his breast. – Rather crude and perhaps late work.

(b) *Wooden group-carving* (*Mahāyānist*). – On a high recessed wooden throne with receding facets (damaged down the centre), sits, in the round, the Earth-touching Buddha, within a pointed openwork nimbus framed with worshippers. The lowest tier of the throne is borne on the heads of a line of elephants. At the bottom corners Devas support lotus-stalks and flowers, upon whose pericarps kneel the two *aggasāvaka*, Sāriputta and Moggallāna; their heads rise to the level of the Buddha's elbows. Standing behind and above them are two Bodhisattvas, whose crowns (*kirīṭamukuṭa* enclosing a lotus finial ?) are almost as high as the Buddha's flame-niched *uṣṇīṣa*. The Bodhisattva on the left (the Buddha's right) appears to be offering him a casket or a crown (?). – Is the scene that of the 'Transfiguration of the Buddha' (cf. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Pl. 88 B), or that at the conclusion of the *Lotus* sūtra, when Gadgadaśvara and Avalokiteśvara offer the Buddha, in his *sambhoga kāya*, objects of adornment? See *supra*, Ch. X, p. 187.

Said to come from Halin. Now at Pagán Museum. Height 29 in. Breadth 16¼ in. Thickness 7½ in. [phot. Tin Oo]

(c) *Crowned Buddha* (?) *seated in pralambanâsana.* Now at Pagán Museum. A very plain wooden relief-sculpture. The Buddha wears a large high *kirīṭamukuṭa* (probably damaged at the top). He sits with small feet resting on the pedestal, which is rounded and double-grooved. His small right hand is raised before the body, the damaged left hand dangling in his lap. – The carving of feet and hands suggests to me a lateish date.

Height 18 (+) in. Breadth 5 in. Thickness at base 4 in.

[phot. Tin Oo]

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(d) Weatherworn *standing wooden Buddha-statue* now at the E. shed, Pagán Museum. The Buddha has the usual long ears and *uṣṇīṣa* (no crown). He stands on a small rounded double-lotus pedestal. His robes hang open and even. His right hand hangs stiffly; his left is raised against the breast. Height 63½ in. Breadth (of robes) 18 in. Thickness (of pedestal) 9 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(e) *Three gilded wooden Buddhas, one standing.* Now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Tin Oo]

On the left is a seated Buddha with high crown, probably touching Earth. He has a high *kirīṭamukuṭa*, enclosing a still higher coiled *jaṭā*, topped with lotus and 'plantain-bud'. The high rising and low falling ear-flaps are mostly lost on the right side; also the earth-touching hand, much of the crossed legs (apart from the soles); and the front of the pedestal eaten by insects. Left hand in lap complete. Height 44½ in. Breadth at shoulders 12½ in.

On the right, better preserved, there is a similar but smaller crowned Earth-touching Buddha, seated in *vajrâsana* on double lotus. The statue is reddened and gilded. Above the high *kirīṭamukuṭa*, the coiled headdress is lost; also most of the right ear-ornaments; and the fingers of the left hand are damaged. Otherwise, rather modern-looking. Below the torque, the dress is that of a monk. Height 30 (+) in. Max. breadth 14½ in.

Was this elaborate high style of royal headdress confined to wood-carving? For rather different styles in the stone sculptures of Nanda temple, see *ASI* 1914, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX.

In the centre, there is another standing wooden Buddha statue, similar to (d), but better preserved, and reddened and gilded. Lotus-stool and toes are damaged. Right hand hangs stiffly in *varada mudrā*; the left holds a piece of the lapel against the breast.

Plates 421, 422. *Bodhisattva-Kings* (?).

All now at Pagán Museum. They come from several different temples at Pagán. Most are approximately lifesize. Each appears to be carved from a single tree-trunk. All (if intact) wear pointed leaf-and-bud *kirīṭa* crowns, enclosing coiled and tapering braided hair (*jaṭā*); also elaborate ear-plugs and ornaments, flame-edged torques, and a long open robe down to the ankles. All stand (or stood) on double lotus footstools. All droop their right hand stiffly in *varada mudrā*, and raise their left hand, palm inwards, against the breast.

See Text, Ch. XIV, p. 291, where "the 12 wooden carved figures" which Forchhammer found at Kyaukku Ôhnmin, are discussed. The question is, are these wooden statues ordinary Bodhisattvas, or crowned Mahāyānist Buddhas? Or are they portrait-statues of dead Pagán royalty, idealized as Bodhisattva-kings in Devaloka, and placed perhaps in temples of their own building?
[All phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 421.

(a) Ink Nos. 23/55, 6/111. Said to come from Thingayaza pagoda, No. 347, ¼ mile N. of Thiripyitsaya village. Found in 1955. Coloured red. *Jaṭā* lost, but not the *kirīṭa*. Half the lotus footstool left. Total height 57½ in. Breadth below shoulders 12 (+) in.

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(b) Ink Nos. 24/55, 6/112. Also from Thingayaza pagoda, No. 347. Found in 1955. Feet below knees lost, also the *jaṭā* above the well-preserved *kirīṭa*. Right hand has only 3 fingers left. Left hand before the breast is complete, holding lapel of robe.
Total height 53 in. Breadth 14 in.

(c) No ink number. Crown and braided hair complete. Also right hand in *varada mudrā*. Left hand against breast mostly lost. Feet lost below the open robe, from the ankles downwards.
Total height 60 in. Breadth at shoulders 15¾ in.

(d) No ink number. Crown and braided hair complete, also left hand. Right hand lost. Top half of lotus-stool remains.
Total height 75½ in. Breadth at shoulders 15½ in.

(e) No ink number. Badly weathered. Nothing left below robe. 4 fingers of right hand remain, and 3 of the left.
Height 61½ in. Breadth 12¾ in.

(f) No ink number. *Kirīṭa* complete. *Jaṭā* above it lost. Feet mostly lost below ankles. Right arm lost from shoulder. Left arm before breast complete.
Height 63 in. Breadth at shoulders 13½ (+) in.

Plate 422.

(a) One of the better-preserved statues. Found in 1928 at Hnit-kyeik-shit-su pagoda, with single entrance, N. of Min-o-chantha pagoda. Crown and hair-braid nearly complete. Front half of feet and lotus-stool lost. Right-hand lacks thumb; left hand lacks top of forefinger.
Height 69 in. Breadth at shoulders 15 in.

(b) The best preserved of all. Slight damage to nose and top of hair-braid. Otherwise complete down to double-lotus stool. Ear-flaps and ornaments especially good; also the hands. Left hand holds the lapel.
Total height 74 in. Breadth at shoulders 17 in. Marked "VI 2" (but register lost).

(c) Identified as "1922. – No. 95. From the Ānanda."
Statue painted red and gilded. Height almost complete down to double-lotus stool. Ear-flaps and ornaments lost; also right thumb. Left hand complete, with lapel.
Height 73 in. Breadth 15½ in.

(d) No ink-number. A 'child', judging by the height, which is almost complete. Feet and left half of lotus-stool damaged. Ear-ornaments mostly lost. Has long fingers; the two little fingers damaged. Otherwise complete.
Height 46½ in. Breadth 10¼ in.

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(e) Identified as "1924. From small red temple W. of the Min-o-chantha." A 'child', judging by the height, which is complete except for the hair-dress above the crown. Ear-ornaments lost, and most of the lower part of the robe. Right hand damaged. Left hand complete; also the feet and double lotus stool. Height 39¾ in. Breadth at shoulders 8¾ in.

(f) Found by me lying in Hpyatsa Shwégu temple (cf. *supra*, Pl. 360 a). Ink Nos. 6/106, 5/55. Natural wood-colour. Hair-dress above crown incomplete. Feet and lotus-stool mostly lost, but height not far from complete. Breadth incomplete: right arm, shoulder and ear-flap all lost; also the robe – entirely lost on the king's right side, and mostly on his left below the elbow. Left hand damaged, but mostly there; including the lapel.
Height 76 in. Breadth 15½ (+) in.

(g) Ink Nos. 6/55. 6/107. Found in 1955, in Thingayaza Gu 347, ¼ mile N. of Thiripyitsaya. Head-dress lost above the crown. Feet and lotus-stool mostly lost, but height nearly complete. Top part of ear-flaps lost, but lower part, including the large lotus ear-plugs, and flame-edged torque remains. Thumb of right hand lost, and fingers flattened. Left hand and lapel mostly complete. Height 77 in. Breadth 18½ in. (complete).
Note: Owing to conflict of evidence, I am not sure if the above assignment of 3 statues (Pls. 421 a, b; 422 g) to Gu 347 is correct.

Plate 423. *Woodcarvings*, now at Pagán Museum.

(a) Deva standing in prayer at top of a lotus-stalk.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(b) Corner-piece. Double-bodied Lion standing on three-headed Elephant.
[phot. Tin Oo]

(c) Lotus stalk and flower, with kneeling figure above (?).
[phot. Tin Oo]

(d) *Neg.* 2913 (1927–28).
"Two pieces of wooden carvings found in a ruined temple E. of Hsinbaung pagoda", E.NE. of Thiripyitsaya. Height of the taller carving 12½ in. Of the shorter carving 11 in. Breadth of both 5 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]
A common Pyu and Gupta reredos for a seated Buddha, consisted of three tiers: an Elephant-head at the base; a *Vyāla* or Lion Rampant in the centre; and a gaping *Makara* or Capricorn with raised trunk at the shoulders. The Old Burman knew the elephant; but the other animals were strange to him. In these wooden carvings he could not help wondering what they did when 'off parade'.

GOLDWORK.

See also Frontispiece to Vol. II: "Gold Plate from Myinpagán."

Plate 424.

(a, b) Front and side views of a *hollow gold-plate image of the Earth-touching Buddha*, now at the Treasury (*bhaṇḍā-taik*) within the enclosure-wall of Nanda temple. Originally one of the three

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found in the 2nd temple from the East in the Acawlat group, just N. of Ananda Kyaungdaik. [phot. Ba Shin]

Height 10¾ in. Breadth at base, and from knee to knee 7½ in. Depth at base 4¼ in. Skull detachable. Neck also, but joined by little nails to the head. This hollow gold image is now lined with lac, and so heavy. It is said to have weighed about 40 ticals of gold before the lac was added to strengthen it.

(c, d) *Neg.* 3270, 3271 (1930–31).

Front and side views of a similar gold image of the Earth-touching Buddha, without lotus-mat or reredos. Found among the ruins of a temple N. of Ananda Kyaungdaik. The original is said to be "in the possession of U Wilatha of Alè-kyaung monastery, Ananda Kyaungdaik."

(e) *Neg.* 3123 (1928–29).

"A standing image of the Crowned Buddha in relief on gold plate." Said to be at Pagán Museum (I have not seen it there). Find-spot not stated. This image of repoussé gold has a high-pointed *kirīṭamukuṭa*, and torque, also probably ear-flaps. Below the chest, he is dressed as a monk. His right hand is raised before the right shoulder in *vitarka mudrā* (?). The left hangs at the side. There is a double-lotus mat at the base, and a narrow geometric border pattern at the sides.

Plates 425 to 451.

BRONZE-WORK.

Plates 425–428.

BRONZE LOTUSES

Note. For parallels in Mahāyānist Pāla art, Duroiselle (*ASI* 1927, p. 171) cites the *Vajratārā* bronze lotus shown at "fig. 101 of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, and in fig. 5 in Foucher's *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Part II. The latter is in the Indian Museum ... it was found at Pātharghātā in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar." The Pātharghātā Vajratārā lotus is illustrated also by R.D. Banerji, on Pl. 72 (a, b) of his *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture* (Delhi, 1933), together with a similar bronze lotus, the so-called Mājvāḍī Vajratārā (Pl. 72 c, d), found in a tank in Mājvāḍī village, 2 miles W. of Koṭālipāḍā police-station, Faridpur district. This latter lotus is now in Dacca Museum; and N. K. Bhattasali, in his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (pp. 45–53) gives a full acount of both lotuses (Pls. XV, XVI, XVII). Note, for comparison with the Tuywindaung Lotus (our Pl. 425 a, b) the follg. details of the Mājvāḍī one: – "The flower rises from a thick stem, and on its two sides two young double Nāga girls, their bodies bifurcating from a single up-turned tail, are represented as gracefully supporting the fixed petals of the lotus." Elephant, lion, and other animals also occupy the foliated circles of the base. The Pātharghātā Lotus is also shown at Fig. 180 of B. Bhattacharyya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1958, Calcutta).

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Bronze lotuses were similarly used to enshrine Vaishnava themes: see *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, pp. 28–29, and fig. 3 (right): – "Viṣṇu, within a lotus, bronze, ... from Nepal or the North Gangetic plain. ... It is of the 12th century A.D. And each of the 8 petals (there is one missing) carries a small bronze figure of one of the incarnations (avatāras) of Viṣṇu ...."

Plate 425.

(a, b) *Earth-touching Buddha Lotus*, closed and open. From Tuywindaung.
Neg. 2702, 2703 (1926–27).

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, p. 171, and Pl. XXXIX (g, h): – "Found in 1925 by the Buddhist monks of Tuywindaung while digging post-holes for a resthouse ... The lotus can be made to open and close by means of a spring, and contains in the centre a seated image of Buddha. On the inner sides of the petals, which are 8 in number, are represented the principal scenes in the life of the Master, the Nativity, the Preaching of the first discourse at Isipatana, the Offering of honey by a monkey, the Parnirvāṇa, etc. When closed, the lotus is crowned by a small stupa. The lotus is mounted on a stand ornamented with floral designs. The two stalks which branch off from the main stem of the stand are supported on the hands of two Nāginī; a devotee is seen seated in the attitude of prayer on a lotus, at the upper end of each stalk, in the scrolls of which are figures of lions and elephants."

Plate 426.

(a, b) *Cetiya Lotus*, closed and open. Dug up in 1955 by U Htwe Sein at a pagoda-ruin 20 yards N.E. of Upali Thein, where the bronze lotus of Pl. 427 *infra*, and the "andagu' stone plaque of the Eight Scenes (Pl. 404 *supra*), were also found. All three are now at Pagán Museum. See *ASB* 1955, pp. 13–14, and Pl. 8 (p. 25).
[phot. Tin Oo]

The lotus bud is closed by a cap in the shape of a small *cetiya*, a miniature copy of the large *cetiya* within. When this is removed and the 8 petals opened, the large *cetiya* is seen in the centre of its *maṇḍala*. On the inner side of the 8 petals, are embossed little *cetiyas* at the top, and the Eight Scenes below. Both crowning cap and central *cetiya* are detachable; each is inset with 4 silver lotuses in niello. Four praying saints are enclosed in the lotus rings below the petals. In the 7 rings around the base, 7 figures are enclosed: lion, man, elephant, disciple, bull, virgin, and another man.

Mon Bo Kay has kindly supplied me with the following additional information: – Height of Lotus 10½ in. Diameter at base 4½ in. Height of Cetiya 3 in. Diameter at base 1⅘ in. Length of petals 4¾ in. Breadth of petals 1¼ in. Height of cap-cetiya 2½ in. Diameter at base 2⅕ in. The Eight Scenes are numbered on the back of each petal in proto-Bengali script, as follows: –

1. *Nativity* (Māyā, 2⅛ in. high. Babe on right hip. A Deva below with arms outstretched).
2. *Twin Miracle* (Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā*. Naked heretic below, trying to fly. Floral stupa above).
3. *Descent from Tāvatiṁsa* (Buddha's right hand in *varada mudrā*, left holding robe at shoulder. Brahmā holding *chattra*. No other figures).

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4. *First Sermon* (Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā*. Below, Wheel front-face, with couchant Deer).
5. *Enlightenment* (Earth-touching Buddha on double lotus under Bodhi tree).
6. *Nālāgiri elephant* (Buddha droops right hand above tiny crouching elephant. On the left, a *vyāla*-like elephant attacking ?).
7. *Pārileyyaka retreat* (Buddha in *pralambanâsana* facing front, holding almsbowl. Monkey on the right, making offering. Flying figure above).
8. *Parinirvāṇa* (placed along the petal. Cetiya above. A mourner in front of couch).

Plate 427.

(a, b, c) *Bodhgayā Śikhara Lotus.* – Like the bronze Lotus of Pl. 426, this one was dug up in 1955 by U Htwé Sein at the same ruin 20 yards N.E. of Upali Thein. Both are now at Pagán Museum. See *ASB* 1955, p. 13, and Pl. 7 (p. 24). Height 15½ in.

(a) *Neg.* 5878 (1954–55). The lotus bud closed.

(b) *Neg.* 6036 (1954–55). The lotus open, with Śikhara in centre.

(c) *Neg.* 5885 (1954–55). The Śikhara, after removal of the 8 petals.

The Śikhara is thought to be a small model of that of the Vajrâsana (Mahābodhi) temple at Bodhgayā, as it may have been about the 12th century A.D. But there is not much resemblance here to the other miniature in 'andagu' stone shown *supra* at Pl. 406 b, c; which, in turn, is closer to the Jhewari bronze model found in 1927 near Chittagong (see *ASI* 1928, Pl. LVII a). Perhaps there was more than one temple at Bodhgayā which provided models. At the base of the Śikhara, in a tier of trefoil niches, are shown the following Eight Scenes: (i) the Enlightenment (Earth-touching Buddha), (ii) the Nativity, (iii) the Twin Miracles, (iv) the Descent from Tāvatiṁsa, (v) the *Parinirvāṇa*, (vi) the Pārileyyaka retreat (vii) the First Sermon, (viii) the Taming of the Nālāgiri elephant. On the inner side of the 8 petals, Cetiyas with streamers are shown at the top; and below them saints seated in worship. On the back of the petals, N.E. Indian numerals are engraved. Below the bud and the flat open bract below it, two whorls of foliation hold four figures seated back to back – Bodhisattvas (?) in *lalitâsana* or *abhayamudrā*. The bell-like base has two small openwork tiers enclosing jewels.

Plate 428.

(a) the same. View of the 8 open petals, as seen from above.
[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

(b) *Neg.* 3178 (1929–30).

"A small bronze image of a Bodhisattva found in a ruined temple near Shwéhsandaw pagoda." – The Bodhisattva is Maitreya, seated in *lalitâsana, vitarka mudrā* (?), his left hand holding the stem of the *nāgakesara* flower. See Text, Ch. X, pp. 193–194.

(c) *Neg.* 3179 (1929–30).

"A small bronze image of standing Buddha fixed to a lotus petal at its back, found in a ruined temple near Shwéhsandaw pagoda" (*Neg.* 3180 shows the lotus petal at the back). Right hand hangs in *varada-mudrā*.

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See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1930, p. 157: – 'Such bronze lotus shrines seem once to have been rather popular; for isolated objects forming parts of such shrines were dug up occasionally ... at Pagán. One of these, which was found during the year 1926–27 in a mound near the Mingalazedi pagoda, was a small bronze image of a Nāginī. Another object of this character was found during the year under report in the débris inside a ruined temple near the Shwéhsandaw pagoda at Pagán. This is a small standing bronze image of the Buddha, about 1⅝ in. in height, standing on a lotus, which certainly formed part of a lotus shrine. The same débris yielded a small bronze image of a Bodhisattva (height 1⅜ in.) seated on a lotus with one leg pendant. ... Both these figures are of Indian workmanship, and their date is supplied by a fragment of a terracotta votive tablet, bearing an effigy of the Buddha on the obverse face, and a Talaing [Mon] inscription of about the 11th–12th century A.D. on the reverse."

Plates 429–443. BRONZE BUDDHA-IMAGES.

Plate 429. *Three bronze images of the Buddha, from near Shwéhsandaw pagoda.* One standing, and two seated images.

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1937, p. 78, and Pl. XXX c, d, e: – "To the W. of the Shwéhsandaw pagoda and quite close to it within the same enclosure, is a small roofless temple measuring about 20 ft. square. ... In the S. wall of the temple which has canted outwards, a long and wide vertical crack has appeared, revealing at a height of about 10 ft. from the floor a relic-chamber which measured 1 ft. 6 in. square and 2 ft. in height, and contained the images. ... These may be assigned to the XIth or beginning of the XIIth century."

(a) *Neg.* 3935 (1936–37). Height 2 ft. ½ in.

The Buddha stands on plain round pedestal, his robes with rippling hems evenly outspread; his right hand raised from the elbow in *abhaya mudrā*, his left holding out a lapel. Square smiling face. Both shoulders covered. Flame-niche above *uṣṇīṣa*. Mon/Indian type.

(b) *Neg.* 3939 (1936–37). Height 1 ft. 5 in.

Seated Earth-touching Buddha, without lotus pedestal. Right shoulder exposed. Left shoulder-flap visible. Also *ūrṇā*, and flame-niche above *uṣṇīṣa*. Large hands. Strong Mon/Indian type.

(c) *Neg.* 3937 (1936–37). Height 1 ft. 2 in.

Seated Earth-touching Buddha, without lotus pedestal. Right shoulder exposed. Left shoulder-flap clear. Also *ūrṇā* and lotus cup above *uṣṇīṣa*. Large hands. Square Mon/Indian type.

Plate 430. *Six bronze standing Buddhas* (*Pagán; Hsameikshé*).

See Text, Ch. VIII, pp. 141–142.

(a) *Neg.* 1090 (1912–13). Provenance not stated. Formerly at Pagán Museum. See *ASB* 1917, Pl. II A. Dated 11th century A.D.

Face solemn and narrow. Chin pointed. Brow-arches joined. *Ūrṇā* clear, and flame-niche on high *uṣṇīṣa*. Plain round pedestal. Rippling robe-hems. Both shoulders covered. Right hand, as usual, in *abhaya mudrā*, left holding lapel (?). Mon/Indian type.

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(b) *Neg.* 3925 (1936–37).

See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1937, p. 77, and Pl. XXX a. From the relic-chamber of "a small ruined temple in Po Saw's field about half a mile S.W. of Kôktheinnayôn (*Kusināruṁ*) at Myinpagán. . . . A small bronze image . . . standing on a lotus with the right hand in the *abhayamudrā*, the left in the *varadamudrā*. It is a good piece of work of the mediaeval period." – For *abhaya-* read *vitarkamudrā*. And I doubt the *varada mudrā*. It seems that the left hand holds, as usual, the lapel of the robe; but this has become detached, both here and in (a), from the robe proper, since it was not understood. The image is interesting as local Burmese work based on Indian models. Date doubtful, but presumably Pagán period. Duroiselle gives 5½ feet as the height of this "small image" – presumably a slip for 5½ inches.

(c) *Neg.* 2054 (1919–20).

See *ASI* 1920, p. 30, and Pl. XXV (e): – "At Sameikshé village in Thazi township, Meiktila district, there was unearthed a small standing image of Buddha in bronze in a brick chamber buried underground." – The writer adds that it represents the Buddha Dīpaṅkara and "dates apparently from the 13th or 14th century A.D." – Almost all these Buddha-bronzes in Burma derive from, and follow closely, the colossal Late Gupta Sulṭāngañj image (see Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, XLI, 160): there is no good reason to say they represent Dīpaṅkara. And in view of the other finds in the neighbourhood, including Old Mon writing, the 11th to 12th century is a much more probable date. The style is Mon/Indian, somewhat timid perhaps, but careful and solemn: high flame-niche above *uṣṇīṣa*; both shoulders covered, faint rippling robe-hems. The one 'extra' is the large double-lotus throne.

(d, e, f) Three standing bronzes now at Pagán Museum (provenance not stated). These are included by way of contrast to the normal Early Pagán Mon/Indian type. In actual pose they all follow, strictly if clumsily, the North Indian model: right hand raised from the elbow in *abhaya mudrā*; left hand held out in an otiose sort of *varada mudrā* – this as a substitute for holding out the hem of the robe. The lotus throne tends to get exaggerated, the *uṣṇīṣa* to get thick or conical, with loss of the flame-niche. The Ideal comes down to the Real. – All this, I suggest, points to the Later Pagán period, and to Old Burmese workmanship. Mr. A. B. Griswold, however, suggests the possible influence of the Nāgapaṭṭinam Buddhist bronzes (see *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1954). He may well be right.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Plate 431. (full pl.) – *Tall bronze standing image of the Buddha on the N.W. side of Ananda Kyaungdaik*, Pagán.
[phot. Tin Oo]

Cf. *Neg.* 1631 (1916–17), and *ASB* 1917, Pl. II C. Height 3 ft. 8 in., from feet to flame-niche above *uṣṇīṣa*. Max. breadth 1 ft. 4½ in. At present the image is set against a modern back-screen and throne with glass inlay. Our photographer, Tin Oo, has managed to cut out these modernisms, and show this fine image in its original purity – solemn, noble and concentrated. Mon/Indian type. As for the date, I suggest *c.* 1100 A.D.

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Plate 432. *Two bronze standing Buddhas* (*Pagán Chitsagôn*). (See Text, Ch. VI, p. 102.)

These were the first finds at this important site: see Duroiselle, *ASI* 1926, pp. 117–8: "the discovery of two small bronze images by a man named Maung Chit Sa while ploughing in his fields." Maung Chit Sa lived at Taungbi village, but his field, or mound ('Chit-Sa-gôn'), where some of the oldest writing in Burmese was found in the following year (see Pls. 31, 40–48), is not at Taungbi, but East of Nanda and South of Pagán-hmyaw temple. The two bronzes are of normal Mon/Indian type, in the Late Gupta Sulṭāngañj tradition: right hand raised from the elbow in *abhaya mudrā*, left hand holding out a lapel of the robe. But the flame-niche has been added at the top of the *uṣṇīṣa*, and a double lotus below the feet. The two bronzes are easily distinguished by the presence or absence of the *ūrṇā*.

(a, b, c) Front, side and back views of the image without the *ūrṇā*. Height 1 ft. 8 in. *Negs.* 2672, 2673, 2674 (1925–26).

Note the pointed chin answering the pointed flame-niche. The figure is erect and alerted, with robes short and tempestuous.

(d, e, f) Front, side and back views of the image with the *ūrṇā*. Height 1 ft. *Negs.* 2675, 2676, 2677 (1925–26).

Note the squarer face answering the squarer hang of the robes. This is closer to the Indian model, but lacks its mobile grace.

Plate 433.

(a) *Crowned image of the standing Buddha* in bronze. From Pagán. Now at Pagán Museum. *Negs.* 3125 (1928–29). Height 5⅝ in. Breadth of robe at base 1⅞ in. The image is unusual: short, soft, full-cheeked, square-faced, with breasts prominent, and flame-niche mounted on the hair within the *kirīṭa* crown. Stands on double lotus, right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, left half-lowered, holding the lapel. For the Crowned Buddha, see Ch. X, pp. 184 follg.

(b, c) *Nativity group*, in bronze, front and back views.

Negs. 1520, 1521 (1915–16). Formerly at Pagán Museum. Now at Kaba-aye pagoda, Rangoon.

The group stands on a rounded pedestal with downturned lotus leaves. Only Māyā, Pajāpatī, and the Babe are shown. There is no *sāla* tree left, but Māyā raises her right arm as if to hold the branch, and leans her left arm on the shoulder of Pajāpatī, who presses it. She also kicks the (invisible) tree with her right foot – the correct obstetrical act for an ancient Tree-spirit. The Babe is shown twice: crosslegged on her right hip as usual, and also standing on waterpot pedestal below, preparing to take his Seven Steps, his straightness firming the *tribhaṅga* leanings of the two women. – For the Nativity Scene, see Ch. IX, pp. 157–159.

(d) *Pre-Nativity group* (?), in bronze.

Neg. 2726 (1926–27).

"Two women standing with a tree between, on a stool. Found in a relic-chamber of Shwé-hsandaw pagoda, Pagán." Height 4¼ in. Breadth 2¼ in. – I guess that the scene just precedes the Nativity. Māyā and her sister Pajāpatī descend from their litters to admire the *sāla* trees (*Shorea robusta*) in the Lumbinī grove.

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Plate 434. *Three bronze Earth-touching Buddhas with elaborate reredos and lotus thrones.* Listed under "Pagán Museum." Provenance not stated.

(a) Cf. *Neg.* 1093 (1912–13). Now at Rangoon Archaeological Office. Height 14⅕ (+) in. Breadth at base 6¾ in. *Chattra* at the top now lost. Reredos detachable. Buddha and lotus throne solid. [phot. Tin Oo]

The Buddha, with radiant flame-leaf aureole, *ūrṇā*, and flame-tipped *uṣṇīṣa*, sits beneath a floral *kīrtimukha* at the peak, whose mouth on either side disgorges wreaths of foliation, ending in outward facing *haṁsas* at the shoulders. The shoulder-crossbar ends in *makaras*, with coiled trunks and mouths agape. The crossbar is supported by rampant *vyālas*, who face outwards holding vertical lotus-stalks. The *vyālas* stand on elephant-heads, just projecting at the base of the double lotus. Below these, the terraced throne is broken by an inner band, enclosing lions with reverted heads at the corners, and in the centre by an elephant (?) facing front.

Coomaraswamy (*Hist. Ind. Indon.* Art, p. 250, and Pl. CIV 315) dates this image 12th century. Perhaps it is older.

(b) Cf. *Neg.* 1095 (1912–13). Now at Rangoon Archaeological Office. Height 9¼ in. Max. breadth 6⅔ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

The Earth-touching Buddha, with *ūrṇā*, flame-tipped *uṣṇīṣa*, and radiant flame-leaf aureole, sits on divided lotus against a plain double-arched reredos, rimmed with flowers of fire. Above him at the peak there is a Cetiya, and branching sprays of peepal. Below, on either side of the reredos, sit two Bodhisattvas in *lalitâsana*, their outer legs hanging, their right hands in *abhaya mudrā*, their left resting on the knee and twined with their respective flower-stems. The one on the left (the Buddha's right) holds the stem of a lotus, and is therefore *Padmapāṇi* (Avalokiteśvara). The one on the right (the Buddha's left) holds the *nāgakesara* stem, and is therefore *Maitreya*. At each bottom corner, below them, there is a man crouched in adoration, with a woman behind him. In front of the throne's base, the Wheel is seen full-face between two couchant Deer. The scene should therefore, in spite of the Buddha's Earth-touching attitude, be the First Sermon in the Deer-park near Benares; but since two Bodhisattvas are present instead of the five *Pañcavaggiyā*, the intention may rather be the first Mahāyānist sermon, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, 'Lotus of the Good Law'. See also Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, fig. 2, and pp. 45, 111.

(c) *Neg.* 1094 (1912–13). Now at Rangoon Archaeological Office, but the detachable side-pieces with deer and seated disciples are lost.

Against a plain double-arched reredos, rimmed with floral tongues of flame, and crowned with a floral *kīrtimukha*, the Earth-touching Buddha sits on coiling double lotus. His head, faintly raying, is topped with the flame-niche. There is no *ūrṇā*. Below the lotus, the terraced throne projects in front to form trays for offerings. From either side spring lotus stems into tendrils that enclose outward-facing Deer; then double back to form pericarps, on which cross-legged sit praying saints, Sāriputta and Moggallāna. But these, of course, were not present at the First Sermon in the Deer-park.

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Plate 435, 436 a, b. *Worship of the Four Buddhas.*

The component parts of these groups – the Buddhas, their back-screens, the stands, the worshippers – are detachable. U Khin Maung Zaw found many of these components loose in a box at Pagán Museum. Eked out by a few more at Mandalay Archaeological Office, he carefully cleaned them and put a number of them together to form Pl. 436 a, b. U Tin Oo subsequently assembled, with the same materials, two somewhat different groups (Pl. 435 a, b). We cannot therefore, vouch for the accuracy of the arrangement: but obviously something like this was intended.

Many, if not all, of the components came from the 'Scovell' Pawdawmu site (Pl. 259 b). The first incomplete report comes in *ASI* 1920, p. 31: – "During the year 1918–19 the discovery was reported of an encased stupa at Pagán which now proves to be of some antiquity, as is shown by certain finely modelled bronze figures belonging seemingly to the end of the 11th century, which have been found in a relic-chamber at its base. The most interesting of these were the two figures shown in Plate XXV a and b, the former a Bodhisattva" [our Pl. 446 a], "and the latter the Buddha." ... Nothing is said of the groups.

In his full, but somewhat obscure account of the find (*ASB* 1920, pp. 26–27), Duroiselle describes the Buddha shown at *ASI* 1920, Plate XXV b, and continues: – "This figure of the Buddha is made to fit in a small hole in the centre of one of the sides of a small rectangle made of the same metal; the three other sides of the rectangle are occupied by 18 small figures, each a little over 2 in. high; they are all in the *namaḥkāra* attitude. They are very well modelled. Some seem to repeat themselves except for trifling differences in their ornaments. One represents an Indian ascetic; another a *rakṣasa* or ogre; one a *Nāga* king with a three-headed cobra rearing itself over his head; one is what I take to be a queen; one a king; one a minister; two others common people, man and woman. All the images in this scene are numbered in Burmese figures of the archaic type, that is, of the XIth century, and resemble very closely the figures used in numbering the plaques of the Petleik pagoda and those of the Ananda temple. All these little personages resemble closely those depicted on the plaques of the two monuments just mentioned, in the style of their dress, ornaments, the way of doing up the hair, in the cast of countenance, etc.; and must have been made at Pagán itself by the same class of Indian artists who modelled the figures on these plaques, that is, near the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century."

The worshippers shown on Pl. 435 c, d, e, are presumably some of the "18 small figures" found by Duroiselle. Perhaps that number is not the whole tale. If 4 were assigned to each platform (as seems clear), one would expect not less than 5 platforms. If all 24 (or 28) Buddhas were included, there should be 6 (or 7) platforms. And if they are all numbered in Old Burmese, as Duroiselle says, it should be possible to arrange them in the intended order. And this might help to determine who they are. Personally I do not accept the view that they resemble the figures on the Jātaka plaques. Are they just Pagán royalty and courtiers, in costumes more or less contemporary? Or are they all (as Col. Ba Shin once suggested to me) figures from the *Buddhavaṁsa*, showing Gotama in his earlier existences paying homage to preceding Buddhas?

Plate 435.

(a) Platform for Four Buddhas, without worshippers.
Composed and photographed by Tin Oo (white background).
Burm. Hist. Com. Neg. 3070 (1963).

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(b) Another platform for Four Buddhas (one missing), with worshippers.
Composed and photographed by Tin Oo (white background).
Burm. Hist. Com. Neg. 3069 (1963).

(c) Front view of 4 of the worshippers.
Burm. Hist. Com. Neg. 00547 (1962–63).

(d) Back view of the same 4 worshippers.
Burm. Hist. Com. Neg. 00548 (1962–63).

(e) Front view of 7 of the worshippers.
Neg. 2023 (1919–20).

Plate 436.

(a) Platform for Four Buddhas, with worshippers.
Composed and photographed by Khin Maung Zaw (black background).

(b) One of the Four Buddhas, with back-screen.
phot. Khin Maung Zaw (black background)
Height 5½ in. Breadth 3 in. Height of Buddha 3¼ in.
Cf. *Neg.* 2022 (1919–20).

"Found at Scovell's Pawdawmu pagoda." See *ASB* 1920, Pl. III, fig. 2. "In the course of clearing the débris around the plinth of the above pagoda, there were found, quite close to it on the W. side, a good number of small bronze figures. . . . They were not found, as is usually the case, in the relic-chamber within the body of the stupa, but in a small brick chamber outside the building itself but built against the plinth, the top part or cover being almost flush with the surface of the ground."

On a rounded pedestal with downward-turning lotus petals, the Buddha sits touching Earth against an openwork bronze nimbus, horse-shoe-shape, with floral edging. At the nimbus-peak stands a Cetiya, with peepal leaves or sprays at the base; and on the crosspiece, behind the Buddha's neck, a leaf-halo and (but these are sometimes missing) two lotus buds. Behind the Buddha, at the sides, sit Sāriputta and Moggallāna in *ardhaparyaṅkâsana*, leaning towards him in worship.

The nimbus is attached by a tenon projecting from the back of the Buddha.

(c) *Neg.* 3361 (1930–31).

"Bronze image of seated [Earth-touching] Buddha found among the debris on the S. side of an encased stupa, situated in the middle of a field N.E. of Thiripyitsaya village." – Large double-lotus pedestal. Very large hands. Flame-tipped *uṣṇīṣa*. Pointed chin. Smiling mouth. Right shoulder bare. Strong torso. Mon/Indian style.
Cf. U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. XCVIII d; Part I, p. 176: "7½ in. in height. . . . Its features are Indian, and it may be assigned to the 11th–12th century A.D." "Found in the relic-chamber of the stupa shown in fig. a."

(d) *Neg.* 3476 (1931–32).

"Bronze image of seated [Earth-touching] Buddha found inside an earthen pot (*Neg.* 3475) recovered from a brick mound in Po Saw's field S.E. of Nagayôn temple." (*Negs.* 3477 and 3478

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give side and back views). Sāriputta and Moggallāna in worship at the sides. See *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. CV b, and Part I, pp. 191–2: "The Buddha has a sort of conical cap in the way of an *uṣṇīṣa*, and the two disciples are seated with their hands raised in the *namaskāramudrā*. The vessel containing it, had two covers, the inner one being in bronze, and the outer in burnt clay.'

(e) *Neg.* 2902 (1927–28).

"Bronze image of seated [Earth-touching] Buddha found at the mound (*Neg.* 2901) in Po Tha's field S. of Tawyagyaung monastery," Myinpagán. The numbering of the negative makes it certain that it was in the same mound, "near the riverbank, close to the S. of the Tawyakyaung monastery on the W. of the Nanpaya," that Duroiselle found the bronze Triad (*Neg.* 2903) and similar Pyu terracotta votive tablet shown at Pl. 55 *supra* (Cf. *ASI* 1928, p. 125, and Pl. LIV a).

The Buddha sits, right leg on left, on high throne or pedestal, the upper half shaped like double lotus. Behind him, is a solid oval reredos with rim weatherworn. At the top, there is a projecting ledge from which two sprays of peepal rose and branched above the Buddha's head. The left branch remains; the right has broken off.

Height 8¾ in. Breadth at base 3⅝ in.

Plates 437, 438. *Bronze Earth-touching Buddhas without reredos.*

Plate 437.

(a, b) (front and back views). Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

Height 6¾ in. Breadth at base 5¼ in. Provenance not stated.

Mon/Indian type of image, but heavy. Full face and strong torso. Ears touch shoulders. Eyes blind. Flame-niche on *uṣṇīṣa*. No *ūrṇā*. No lotus mat or pedestal. The hollow at the back is a feature found in several Lower Burma bronzes.

[phot. Tin Oo]

(c, d, e) *Negs.* 2752, 2753, 2754 (1926–27).

Front, side and back views of a fine bronze image "found in a relic-chamber of a stupa in ruin in Ngwézédi monastery compound. Original in the possession of the Abbot." See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, p. 170, and Pl. XXXIX (c): – "The cast of countenance is decidedly Indian. It dates probably from the latter half of the XIth century and perhaps somewhat earlier. . . . Including the lotus on which it stands, the figure measures 12¾ in. in height."

He sits buoyant on his leather mat and double lotus cushion. Above the light suspended hands, the robe flap clings to the left shoulder. The face and body are alive with inner concentration. The *ūrṇā* is its symbol. The flame-niche marks the aspiration. A Mon/Indian masterpiece.

Plate 438.

(a, b) Front and back views of a bronze image now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

[phot. Tin Oo]

Similar to Pl. 437 a, b; but lighter: ears do not touch shoulders; and here the image has a large rounded double lotus seat. Slit eyes; the back is similarly hollow, from shoulders to waist.

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(c) Cf. *Neg.* 1091 (1912–13). Formerly at Pagán Museum.
Height 8¾ in. Breadth at base 6 in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

A fine image in Mon/Indian style. The Buddha sits in *padmâsana* on rounded double lotus, touching Earth. Ears do not touch shoulders. No *ūrṇā*. Flame-tipped *uṣṇīṣa*. Long almond eyes. Brow-arches joined. Straight nose. Pointed lips and chin. All emphasize the sunken head, lost in contemplation.

(d) *Neg.* 3396 (1930–31).

From débris of ruined temple N. of Tawyagyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya. The weathered Buddha sits in *vajrâsana*, touching Earth, on fretted leather mat and low down-turning lotus-petal pedestal.

In the list of finds made by U Mya when he opened 16 mounds N. of Tawya-gyaung in 1930–31 (see *ASI* 1930–34, Part I, p. 181), the item most likely to be this, is No. 7 – "A small bronze image of a seated Buddha. Height nearly 2½ in."

(e) Bronze image of the Earth-touching Buddha seated on double lotus pedestal. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.
Height 8½ in. Breadth at base 6¼ in. Breadth from knee to knee 5 in.

Flame-niche on *uṣṇīṣa*. No *ūrṇā*. Strong features. Brow-arches joined. Ears do not touch shoulders. Prominent nose. Smiling lips. Left shoulder-flap. Right shoulder bare. Long torso. Stout hips. Large arms and hands. Mon/Indian 'Aniruddha' type. Side-views (not included) show solid tenon projecting from the back.

(f) Side-view of a different but similar Earth-touching image, seated on double lotus. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office ("No. 19" on white label). Height 8⅜ in. Breadth at base 6¼ in.

Another specimen of the tall 'Aniruddha' type, but more erect and not so stout as (e). Robe cut away over the left thigh. Profile of face down to nose-tip almost vertical. The tenon at the back is holed for locking.

Plate 439. *Three Crowned Earth-touching Buddhas.*

For the Crowned Buddha, see Text, Ch. X, pp. 184 follg.

(a, b) Cf. *Neg.* 1229 (1913–14). Found in the débris of Păhtothămya temple, within the walls of Pagán.
Height 7½ in. Breadth at base 4$\frac{13}{16}$in. From knee to knee 3½ in. Thickness at base 2⅝ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]

See *ASI* 1914, Part 1, Pl. XII (b, c) and p. 10: "the small but excellently preserved bronze statuette representing the Bodhisattva Gautama."

But this is an Earth-touching Buddha, seated in *vajrâsana* on fretted leather mat and tall double-lotus pedestal. He is not a Bodhisattva. He wears only the *kirīṭa* crown, *karṇapūras*, necklace and torque. Below this, he is merely the Monk – with shoulder-flap, bare right shoulder, monastic robes. He has a small square head with *ūrṇā*, joined brow-arches, almond eyes, sharp nose, and smiling mouth.

Cf. U Mya, *ASB* 1959, figs. 60, 61 (p. 90), and pp. 28–37.

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(c, d) *Negs.* 2274, 2276 (1921–22). Front and back views of a bronze Earth-touching Buddha, seated (without lotus) on a high recessed throne. "Found within the relic-chamber of a ruined pagoda, near Păhtodaw-gyi pagoda, Hsameikshé, Thazi township, Meiktila district."

For Duroiselle's account of these sites, see *ASB* 1922, paras 27, 28, pp. 9–11. I suspect that this image is his "beautiful bronze image of a Bodhisattva, which may be ascribed to the 11th or early 12th century," recovered from the *sīmā* at Aungbintha village, "a few miles to the S. of Sameikshé." He gives a photograph of the site at Plate III, but not of the bronze image. Cf. *ASB* 1959, figs. 69, 70.

This, once again, is not a Bodhisattva, but a Buddha seated in *vajrâsana*, touching Earth. But so far as clothes and ornaments are concerned, it is indistinguishable from a king or Bodhisattva. It is modelled on the beautiful Maitreya bronze found in the relic-chamber of Mahāmuni temple in N. Arakan (see *Negs.* 1296, 1297 of 1913–14). Both are shown and discussed by U Mya in his Burmese note on the coming of the 'Jambupati' image: see *ASB* 1959, pp. 28–37, and Plates 65 and 66, 69 and 70 (pp. 93, 95). Such 'Crowned Buddhas' become common in Central Burma during the early Ava period; but they were certainly known at Pagán (usually shown there as half-king, half-monk). One hesitates, I admit, to date the Thazi image as early as Duroiselle does; but most of his other finds in this neighbourhood confirm his date; and this appears to be an early and a good copy of the Mahāmuni bronze.

(e, f) Another Earth-touching Buddha (front and back views), heavily loaded with royal attributes – crown, ear-flaps and ornaments, breastplate, coat of mail, armlets, gauntlets, etc. Found by the Inspector of Schools, U Thaung, at the brick monastery, Tabayin, Shwébo district, together with the 'andagu' stone plaque shown at Pl. 401. The latter surely belongs to the early Pagán period. The 'Jambupati', perhaps, may be of Early Ava date. Saya Thaung has kindly supplied the prints.

Plate 440. *Two bronze Earth-touching Buddhas from Yamèthin.*

Found in relic-chamber of the middle casing of the encased stupa at Shwézigôn pagoda, Yamèthin.

(a, b, c) Image No. 1. Front, side and rear aspects.

Strong 'Aniruddha' type. Almond eyes open. *Ūrṇā* above joined brow-arches. Flame-niche on *uṣṇīṣa*. Left shoulder-flap. Right shoulder exposed. Large hands. No double lotus. Solid at the back.

(d, e) Image No. 2. Front and rear aspects.

Similar, but rounder Burmese face. Eyes almost shut. Flame-tip on *uṣṇīṣa*. Hands still large and living. Transition to local style beginning. No double lotus. Solid at the back.

Photographs kindly supplied by U Ohn Maung of Yamèthin.

Plate 441.

(a) *Neg.* 2298 (1922–23). "Chinese Buddha. Pagán Museum."

Last seen at Rangoon Archaeological Office.

Height $7\frac{9}{10}$ in. Breadth at base $4\frac{1}{5}$ in.

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This beautiful image sits in *padmâsana, dhyāna mudrā*, on high double-lotus pedestal. There is a flame-tip on the broad *uṣṇīṣa*; no *ūrṇā*; prominent necking; but excessive frontality is avoided by the diagonal sway of the robes over the left shoulder, and the flap over the right. The whole treatment of the robe is quite un-Burmese.

(b) *Neg.* 2723 (1926–27). "Found in a relic-chamber of Shwéhsandaw pagoda, Pagán."

This large-headed Buddha, with long ears, broad mouth and thick neck, sits touching Earth without mat or lotus pedestal to sit on. The image is clearly of archaic non-Indian type, possibly Pyu, like so many other finds at this pagoda, built by Aniruddha *c.* 1060 A.D. The right shoulder is bare. The flap of the robe falls, as usual, over the left shoulder.

(c) I have no information about this bronze image of the Buddha, seated, right hand on left, right leg on left, in *dhyāna mudrā*, on double lotus pedestal, with pairs of lotus petals and pericarp between. The position of the legs, right on left, is usually a sign of antiquity in Burma. The right shoulder is exposed, the flap is over the left shoulder: this, too, is unusual with images in *dhyāna mudrā*. The long ear-lobes are perforated and touch the shoulder. A flame-niche crowns the *uṣṇīṣa*. There seems to be some old writing on the front of the pedestal, above the double lotus. – The image was probably photographed at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

(d) Small Earth-touching bronze Buddha of archaic non-Indian type, with outsize hands, and *uṣṇīṣa* absent or lost. Features all exaggerated. Seated on low pedestal. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.
Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(e) Small Earth-touching bronze Buddha, with large oval head and flame-niche, seated in *padmâsana* on fretted mat and double lotus. Long ears touching shoulders. Brow-arches joined. Robe covers both shoulders. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.
Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.

(f) A strange bronze image of the seated Buddha, said to come from Pagán. Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Under its high flame-niche, the image has a round head with brow-arches over wide-goggling eyes. He sits in *padmâsana* on fretted mat and downward-turning lotus. His right hand rests on the knee in *varada mudrā*, with a fruit or round object in the palm. Could this be Gaṇḍa's mango?

(g) Small bronze image of the Earth-touching Buddha, now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Prominent *ūrṇā*. No flame-niche. Flap of robe over left shoulder. The Buddha sits on fretted *cammakhaṇḍa* (leather mat) resting on a curious udder-like band of down-turned lotus.

Plate 442. *Bronze images from Shwéhsandaw relic-chamber* (Local work ?).

The Shwéhsandaw was one of the first great pagodas built by Aniruddha, *c.* 1060 A.D., after the rescue of Pegu and (perhaps) the capture of Thatôn. See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 260–262. Some of the oldest bronzes, as well as votive tablets, have been found in its relic-chamber, including a good many not mentioned in Duroiselle's account of the search at *ASI*, 1927, pp. 161–5.

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(a) *Neg.* 2722 (1926–27). Three seated Buddhas. The two outer ones are touching Earth. The two on the right sit on double lotus; the other on a plain mat or pedestal. The one on the right has the usual flame-niche above the *uṣṇīṣa*, the one on the right a sort of two-storeyed *uṣṇīṣa*, like that of the taller standing Buddha in (c) *infra*. The central Buddha (*Neg.* 2721) is the most archaic, seated right leg on left, with both hands propped at the wrist and raised in double *vitarka mudrā* (see *infra*, Pl. 443 a). It has a plain *uṣṇīṣa*, without flame-niche.

(b) *Neg.* 2720 (1926–27). Three seated Earth-touching Buddhas. The one on the right, with double-lotus pedestal and flame-niche on *uṣṇīṣa*, shows most Indian influence. The other two thick-necked images – the one on the left with left arm lost, and the central one with deeply indented pedestal, are the least Indian.

(c) *Neg.* 2719 (1926–27). Two standing Buddhas, short and tall. The short one stands on a low round pedestal, the taller on a higher one raised on concentric rings. Probably both had their right hands raised from the elbow in *abhaya mudrā*, and left hands held out, possibly in *varada mudrā*, holding the lapel of the robe. The right hand of the taller image is lost beyond the elbow. Robes cover both shoulders, and doubtless spread out at the base. The taller, less idealized one, has a 'two-storeyed' *uṣṇīṣa*, and ears touching the shoulders.

Plate 443.

(a, b) Archaic bronze image of the seated Buddha, from relic-chamber of Shwehsandaw pagoda. This is an enlargement of the central figure in the group shown at Pl. 442 (a). Front and side aspects.
[phot. Tin Oo]
Cf. *Neg.* 2721 (1926–27). Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.

On semi-circular double lotus pedestal, the Buddha sits crosslegged, right leg on left, with hands raised from the elbow in double *vitarka mudrā*. The right wrist is supported by a prop, the left by the robe-hem. The nose is sharp and prominent. The *ūrṇā* is clear. There is no flame-niche above the *uṣṇīṣa*. Both shoulders appear to be covered. The pose is reminiscent of bronzes in Dvāravatī Mon Art (Dupont, *L'Archéologie Mône de Dvāravatī*, figs. 423–455), but these are mostly standing images. The seated pose, right left on left, is common in Śrī Kṣetra art, but comparatively rare at Pagán, where the *padmâsana* is normal.

(c, d) Archaic bronze image of the Buddha, seated cross-legged on round double-lotus pedestal, with both enormous hands raised from the elbow in double *abhaya mudrā*. The head, too, is very large. The right wrist and elbow are supported by props, the left by the robe-hem. The right leg rests on the left. There is no flame-niche on the *uṣṇīṣa*. Both shoulders appear to be covered. Height 4 in. Breadth at base 2 in.

(c) Front aspect [phot. Tin Oo]

(d) Back aspect [phot. Lavaud]

(e) The above archaic bronze in double *abhaya mudrā*, and the two others shown on this print, are said on their label at Pagán Museum to have been found in a "stone mound W. of the Myazedi, 4 furlongs W. of the main road." – I suspect that this refers to the ruined Paunggu temple (see

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Ch. XIV, pp. 294–296). Of the three bronzes, the middle one – the 'Pyu Maitreya' type – is described at Pl. 444 (e, f) *infra*. The Earth-touching image on the right (height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) is labelled 12/55. It has a large head with tall *uṣṇīṣa*, thick neck, ears touching shoulders, short body, and legs crossed right on left.

Note. Several years ago, while searching the locked cupboard in the S. room of Pagán Museum, I noted the following old bronzes: –

(i) "a small image of 'Pyu' type, headless, with tiny round legs and feet barely crossing, and both large hands in *abhaya mudrā*."

(ii) "a crude Earth-touching image of 'Pyu' type, with large head and broken nose."

Plate 444 to 447. BRONZE BODHISATTVAS AND TĀRĀS.

Plate 444. *Maitreya* (*Pyu type*). – See Text, Ch. X, pp. 188–191.

(a, b) Cf. *Neg.* 2724, 2725 (1926–27).
[phot. Tin Oo]

Front and back views of a (now one-armed) "bronze image of a Bodhisattva containing a line of Pyu inscription around the pedestal on which it is seated. Found in a relic-chamber of Shwé-hsandaw pagoda, Pagán." Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.
Height $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. Depth at base $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.
See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1927, Pl. XXXIX (f) and pp. 164–5: – "The figure is seated on a low pedestal. The legs do not cross, but the feet meet at the middle, with the soles turned upwards. The right knee is slightly raised and rests on what appears to be a cushion. The figure possesses all the attributes of a king: crown, ear-rings, necklets, armlets, bracelets, anklets and a waistband; and a long string passing over the left shoulder and the right arm falls loosely on the seat in front of the figure just before the feet. The right arm is stretched out, the wrist resting on the knee, and the fingers are slightly bent as if holding something. The left arm has broken off just below the shoulder, but the wrist and hand may be seen resting on the knee, palm upwards. Around the seat is an inscription in Pyū; but it is badly worn away in several places and, save for a few characters, is illegible. On the proper left side, the following can still be read

ḅå: . . Metriya ḅå:

'Metriya' most probably refers to the image itself. . . . The Pyū script on the base of the statuette makes it clear that the latter was made in Burma: but the probability is that it was not made in Pagán, though found there. The general style of the figure which differs from that of the Pagán school, and the form of the characters tend to show that it is older than the middle of the XIth century." . . . Duroiselle concludes that Aniruddha must have brought it back after his conquest of Śrī Kṣetra.

(c, d) Cf. *Negs.* 2930, 2931 (1927–28).
[phot. Tin Oo]

Front and back views of "a bronze image of Bodhisattva found in Paunggu temple. . . . Deposited in the Pagán Museum." Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. See also *Neg.* 1516 (1915–16), figure on left.

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Height $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Depth at base $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.

For Paunggu temple, see Ch. XIV, pp. 294–296.

Though there is no Pyu inscription on this bronze, it is clearly a more perfect example of the Pyu Maitreya than (a, b) *supra*; and even enables us to check Duroiselle's careful description (quoted above) of the Shwéhsandaw specimen. Thus when he says that the left hand rests on the knee "palm upwards," this doubtful statement is contradicted by the Paunggu bronze. And since specimens of this Pyu Maitreya were found in more than one temple at Pagán, I doubt if one can conclude that all were brought back by Aniruddha from Śrī Kṣetra, especially as the same Maitreya type recurs on terracottas and stone sculptures (see Pls. 55, 411 a, b). It seems more likely that there still were Pyu artists living at Pagán, carrying on their old traditions. Note the details of dress and ornaments in (c), much fuller and clearer than in (a).

(e, f) This, the third of the Pyu Maitreyas, appears already in the centre of the group shown in Pl. 443 d. It is now at Pagán Museum, labelled 13/55. I have suggested *supra* that it may also have come from Paunggu temple. More weathered than (c), Maitreya's pose is identical, and ornaments, including the *upavīta* (Brahmanic cord) are similar in all three.

Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(e) Front view. phot. Tin Oo.

(f) Back view. phot. Khin Maung Zaw.

Plate 445. *Maitreya* (*Indian type*). – See Text, Ch. X, pp. 193–194.

(a) *Neg.* 3397 (1930–31).

"A bronze image of a Bodhisattva recovered from among the debris of a ruined temple N. of Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya," in Shwe Doe's field.

Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. C (b), and Part I, p. 180: – "6. A small but very fine bronze image of a Bodhisattva seated in the *lalita mudrā* on a lotus seat. The hair is done into a high *mukuṭa*, but without a crown. A sash is seen round the body, and the lower garment is a pair of close-fitting trousers. The right hand is raised in the *abhaya mudrā*, and the left is resting on a lotus." See also Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Fig. 5 and p. 112. Ray rightly, in my opinion, identifies this bronze as "probably Maitreya." He dates it "*c.* 10th–11th century." The two *nāgakesara* stems framing the image confirm the identification.

(b, c) Cf. *Neg.* 1902 (1918–19).

[phot. Tin Oo (front and side views)]

"A head of a Bodhisattva in bronze found in Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya." Now at Rangoon Archaeological Office.

Height 7 (+) in. Breadth at shoulders 6 (+) in.

See Taw Sein Ko, *ASB* 1919, Pl. I, fig. 2, and p. 43, para 78: – "It has a headdress, parts of which are missing, and ... large ear-ornaments...." It is quite doubtful whether this fine

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fragmentary image represents Maitreya. But it seems to me that (possibly under influence of the glorious Maitreya bronze of Mahāmuni – see Ch. X, p. 188, n. 30) there was in Old Burma – at Śrī Kṣetra and Pagán as well as North Arakan – a tendency to lend his images a certain 'panache', a youthful grace and rich variety of decoration.

(d, e) Cf. *Neg.* 8666 (1959–60).
[phot. Tin Oo (front and side views)]

Head and torso of a bronze image now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. It is identified as 'Jambupati', i.e. the Crowned Buddha (see Ch. X, pp. 184 follg.): but it is easier to regard it as a Bodhisattva, possibly (in view of his elaborate ornaments) Maitreya.

Plate 446. *Bodhisattva Lokanātha.* – See Text, Ch. X, pp. 191–192.

(a) Cf. *Neg.* 2021 (1919–20). "A bronze image of a Bodhisattva found at Scovell's Pawdawmu pagoda." Now at Mandalay Archaeological Office.
Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Breadth at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. From knee to knee $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.
[phot. Tin Oo]
See *ASI* 1920, Pl. XXV (a) and p. 31; *ASB* 1920, Pl. III, fig. 1, and pp. 26–27 (para 47); Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, fig. 7, and pp. 48, 112.

"It is beautifully modelled and of pure Indian workmanship" says Duroiselle. "It is seated on a lotus in the *lalitâsana* ... The right hand, resting on the knee, is in the *varada mudrā*..., the left hand, brought a little before the breast, holds the stalk of a lotus; it wears the usual tiara; some of the ornaments, on the head, thighs and feet and round the neck, are inlaid with silver; another lotus rises from behind on the right side." Duroiselle doubtfully identifies the image as Maitreya; but Ray (p. 48) is certainly right in correcting this to Lokanātha. He dates it *c.* 11th to 12th century A.D. See quotation *infra*, under (b).

(b) *Neg.* 1516 (1915–16).

Found, together with the Pyu Maitreya shown at Pl. 444 c, d, at Paunggu temple, Myinkaba. Deposited in Pagán Museum; but now (I think) at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Ray (*Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, fig. 6, and p. 48) describes the (a) and (b) of our plate together: – "The Ananda Museum, Pagán, shelters two bronze images [of Lokanātha] seated on lotus-throne. In each case the right hand is in the *varada mudrā*, and the left gracefully holds the stalk of a lotus flower. On the right and left side there rise the stout stalks of lotus-flower in a delicate curve ending in flowers and foliage. Both figures are richly ornamented with necklace, waistband, *karṇapūras*, armlets, wristlets and anklets, which are all elaborately, though not very delicately, moulded. Their heads are crowned with a *jaṭāmukuṭa* consisting of long locks of curly hair. The iconographic features of these two images conform exactly to the *sādhanas* devoted to the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara....."

(c) *Neg.* 1516 (1915–16), the original photograph taken by the Archaeological Department showing the 'Indian' *Lokanātha* side by side with the 'Pyu' *Maitreya*, as discovered and placed in Pagán Museum in 1916. In that year (see *ASB* 1916, p. 37, para 86), the Museum acquired "eleven

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stone, and two bronze figures, which were found at Paunggu Paya ... One of the bronze figures is that of a *deva* or *Nat*, and the second is that of a seated image of the Buddha." Most of the stone figures are shown on Pl. 153 *supra*. After studying the "List of Photographs" taken during 1915–16 (*ASB* 1916, p. 52), I think it pretty certain that *Neg.* 1516 shows the two Paunggu bronzes, wrongly described as a Deva and a Buddha. This is confirmed by *Negs.* 2930, 2931 (1927–28) showing the 'Pyu' Maitreya "found in Paunggu temple."

Plate 447. *Avalokiteśvara. Tārā devī.*

(a) *Neg.* 1515 (1915–16). Originally photographed at Pagán Museum with (b) *infra*: see *ASB* 1916, p. 52, item 25 "1515. Figures of Avalokiteśvara and of Tārā (in bronze)." Duroiselle comments (*ibid.*, p. 3): – "Two figures, rather rare in Burma, are found in this museum. One is a small bronze Avalokiteśvara standing in his usual attitude of 'charity', *varamudrā*, and holding a lotus stalk in his left hand. He is easily identified by the figure of his Dhyāni Buddha, *Amitābha*, sitting in his tiara crosslegged, with his hands one upon the other in his lap. Another, rarer still – I think the one in the museum is the only one up to now found in Burma – is Tārā, the consort of Avalokiteśvara, easily recognizable by her attitude." See also Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, fig. 3, and pp. 41, 111: – "A small bronze standing in a slight *tribhaṅga* pose with the right hand in *varada mudrā*, and the left holding a lotus-stalk. ... Pagán, *c.* 10th–11th century." Cf. Text, Ch. X, pp. 195, n. 77; 198, n. 88.

(b) *Neg.* 1515 (1915–16). See Duroiselle's note in (a) above; also Ray, *op. cit.*, fig. 4 (the image is bronze, not stone), and p. 111: – "*Tārā* ... Pagán. *c.* 10th–11th century. Slight *tribhaṅga* pose. Forearms broken, feet mutilated. [Ornaments:] *kuṇḍala* [Ear-rings], *keyūra* [Upper Armlets], *mekhalā* [Girdle]." This standing figure is now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Height 3⅛ in.

(c, d) *Negs.* 1775, 1776 (1917–18). Front and back views of a "figure of the goddess Tārā in bronze, from Manawgôn village, Myothit township, Magwé district." Figure seated in *padmâsana* on a pedestal of down-turned lotus petals.

Total height 3 in. Now at Pagán Museum.

See *ASB* 1918, pp. 31–32, para 65; *ASI* 1918, Part I, Pl. XVII, figs. 1 and 2, and p. 27. Taw Sein Ko writes: – "Found among the débris while digging around an old and ruined temple near Manawgôn ... [Tārādevī] is represented as seated crosslegged on a lotus throne, with her right hand in the Charity *mudrā*, while her left holds by its stem the long stalk of a blue lotus (*utpala*). She wears anklets, bracelets, armlets, a necklace, earrings and a crown, and her hair is done up into a knot at the back of her head in the fashion of the South Indian coiffure. The anatomy of the figure, especially its deep navel, slender waist, and well-developed bosom, indicates its Indian origin." See also Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The left hand, they both add, is in *vitarka mudrā*.

The Tārā is the Green Tārā, *Śyāmā* or *Khadiravaṇī Tārā*, as shown by the pose *varadamudrā*, and the flower, the blue lotus (*utpala*). See B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1958), pp. 226–227.

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(e) *Neg.* 1775 (1917–18). A bronze cetiya-finial (?) found with the Manawgôn Tārā (c, d), and photographed with it. The entry on the print calls it a "stone *cetī*"; but this is a mistake. It is now at Pagán Museum.

VIṢṆU.

Plate 448. *Viṣṇu. Bronze standing image, four-armed.*

See Text, Ch. XI, pp. 218 follg.

(a) *Neg.* 1096 (1912–13). "A bronze figure of Vishnu."
Height 13 in. Breadth from hand-tip to hand-tip 6 in.
See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1913, Pl. II (2), and p. 19 (para 47): – "A Hpôngyi [Head Monk] found in a field at Myinkaba (Pagán) a bronze figure of Viṣṇu, about one foot in height, and of good workmanship; it is now preserved in the local museum at Pagán." It is now at Mandalay Archaeological Office. Ray (*Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Pl. XII 17, and pp. 45–47, 91) notes that from "the stiff rigid modelling of the body, the hard expression of the face, the paucity of ornaments in so late an example (belonging not earlier than the 13th century A.D.), the rough and rigid convention of the different features, and, last but not least, the conventional curving flame designs at the ends of the two shoulders, so common in Burmese images of a later date, we are led to believe that the image had ... been locally cast by an indigenous craftsman in the service of a Brahmanical master. ... The distended ear-lobes, a characteristic feature of Buddha images, are noteworthy, and the simple and crude workmanship of the ornaments is interesting. The god has four hands, the two upper hold the *cakra* and the *śankha* ... the lower right is in the *varada*" [Read *abhaya*] "pose, and the lower left is placed upon ... the *gadā*. The *yajñopavīta* or the sacred thread across the body, is easily recognizable, but interesting is the *udarabandha* or the belt round the belly. This seems frankly to be *bhogasthânaka mûrti* of Viṣṇu" [image for the women's apartments].

(b, c) Side and back views of the image.
[phot. Tin Oo]
Note that the damaged *cakra* of the upper right hand, is now lost.

Plates 449 to 451. MISCELLANEOUS BRONZES.

Plate 449. *Bronze Cetiyas and Bell.*

(a) *Neg.* 1097 (1912–13). "A bronze dagoba. Pagán Museum" "Tibetan chorten" on the photo-print supplied.
Height 9 in.

(b) *Neg.* 3474 (1931–32). "A bronze stupa (upper part only) found among the débris at the base of an encased stupa with a square basement in ruin in a field on the S.E. of Nagayôn temple", S. of Myinpagán.

(c) *Neg.* 2899 (1927–28). "Bronze stūpa-shaped objects found at the mound in Shwé So's field N. of Sômingyi pagoda."

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See Duroiselle, *ASI* 1928, Pl. LIII (c) and p. 125. Now at Pagán Museum. Really only one bronze, seen complete on the left of the print or in the *ASI* plate.
Total height 24¼ in. Max. breadth 4½ in.

(d) Inscribed bronze Bell, small but heavy. The tongue inside is lost. Struck by the finger, it gives a pure musical note. It was "picked up in a field E. of the Tamani Okkyaung, S.E. of the Myinkaba village. It is 12½ in. high and ½ in. thick at the mouth whose diameter is 6 in. and circumference 19½ in." See *ASB* 1938, pp. 7–8, Pl. II (a), and Appendix H, p. xi, No. 6. It is now at Pagán Museum. [phot. Tin Oo]

The inscription, 1 clear line of Pali engraved around the lower rim, is given by Duroiselle as follows: –

‖ therassa tambaliṅkassa jinasāsanadhārino ārāme ratane cetye ghaṇḍaṁ pūjeti satthuno amaṅgonāma nāmena sāsanatthajjhako naro

"The man who has the welfare of Buddha's religion at heart, *Amaṅga* by name, offers this bell to the Teacher at the Ratana Stupa in the monastery of *Thera Tambalinka*, the upholder of the religion of the Conqueror."

"Palaeographically," he adds, "it may be dated as the 13th–14th century A.D. The thera Tambalinka is otherwise unknown."

This, however, is not so. 'Tamani,' written *Tāmaṇi*, is a modern misreading of Old Burmese *Tāmalin*. This site, where the bell was found, was a large monastic settlement in the latter part of the Pagán period, presided over by the *mlat krī Tāmalin*, "Most Venerable *Tāmalin*." His original inscription (*I.B.* Pl. III 265, 266), a pillar with three inscribed (but damaged) faces formerly set up *in situ* (I think it has now been moved to Pagán Museum), records a series of dedications between 1262 and 1280 A.D. The donor of the bell, probably a minor Burmese official called *Amaṅ*, is described (so I read it) as a *sāsanatthambhako*, "Pillar of the Religion."

(e) Bronze Cetiya said to come from Mingalazedi. Now at Pagán Museum. Consists of a banded *aṇḍa*, *chattrâvali* and lotus bud finial.
Height 6¼ in. Diameter of round base 3¼ in.
[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plate 450. *Bronze Bowls, Trays (Gongs ?), Mirror.*

(a) *Neg.* 4015 (1937–38), "A shallow bronze bowl found by coolies while repairing the road on the W. of Myinkaba-gyi monastery", Myinpagán. See Duroiselle, *ASB* 1938, p. 8: "4½ in. in width, and 15 in. in circumference at the brim, and 2 in. in height." Cf. *ibid.*, Appendix F, p. vii, No. 10.

(b) *Neg.* 3405 (1930–31). "Two bronze trays [or gongs] found in a mound close to the N. of Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya," in Shwé Doe's field.

(c) *Neg.* 2057 (1919–20). "An old bronze mirror found at a ruined pagoda, Hsameikshé village," Thazi township, Meiktila district. Cf. *ASB* 1920, p. 33.

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(d) Two bronze Bowls now at Pagán Museum.
[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]
One measures: – Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Diameter at top $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., at base $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The other (labelled No. $\frac{3}{105}$) measures: – Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Diameter at top 6 in., at base $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Plate 451. *Bronze Goglets.*

(a) *Neg.* 3403 (1930–31). "A bronze water-goglet found in a mound close to the N. of Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya," in Shwé Doe's field.

(b) *Neg.* 3404 (1930–31). "A bronze water-goglet found in a mound close to the N. of Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya," in Shwé Doe's field. Spout broken off.

(c, d) A white bronze goglet (two aspects) dug up at Thiripyitsaya village, and now at Pagán Museum. Labelled No. $\frac{3}{109}$. With long spout and open top expanding above the neck.
Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Circumference of body 14 in. Length of spout $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Compare the earthenware goglet (Pl. 453 a).
[phot. Khin Maung Zaw]

Plates 452, 453. PAGÁN PERIOD POTTERY.

Plate 452.

(a) *Neg.* 2181 (1920–21). "An earthenware vase" with stupa-shaped lid, "from Twanté, Hanthawaddy district."
See *ASB* 1920, Pl. II, fig. 3, and p. 25.
Found in the relic-chamber of a ruined pagoda, together with a bronze image of the Buddha (figs. 1 and 2) seated in *pralambanâsana*, both hands in *vitarka mudrā* [cf. *Negs.* 2179, 2180]. "The earthen vase," says Duroiselle, "is a very fine specimen of pottery, the cover of which imitates the outlines of a stūpa; it was found empty, together with the seated Buddha, and probably contained relics." He intended to deposit both in the Phayre Museum, Rangoon; but the elders of Twanté obtained permission from the Government to keep them at Twanté; "and for their proper exhibition and safe custody, Ma Nu, a daughter of the late U On Gaing, C.I.E., has undertaken to build a *tazaung*, at her own expense, on the platform of the Shwéhsandaw pagoda there" (*ASB* 1921, p. 7). Enquiries made by the Burma Historical Commission at that pagoda, elicited the reply that they were not there, and are probably lost."

(b) *Neg.* 3381 (1930–31). A similar earthenware vessel, without the lid, "found in the main relic chamber of the encased stupa situated close to a ruined temple (No. 441) near Seinnyet-nyi-ama pagodas," S. of Myinpagán. See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. XCIX (b), and Part I, p. 177: – "The contents of the principal relic-chamber consisted of an empty earthenware vessel.

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(Pl. XCIX b) covered over and surrounded with terracotta votive tablets. All the tablets found here bear either *the seal of King Anoratha* or other marks pertaining to his period." Note the stencilled fig-leaf pattern below the neck of both these pots.
Height 14¼ in. Breadth at base 11½ in. Max. circumference 48 in. Found W. of the road, S.W. of Seinnyet pagodas. For historical conclusions drawn on the strength of these two pots, see Ch. II, p. 20.

(c) *Neg.* 3416 (1930–31). "Two bull-heart-shaped earthenware vases containing mercury, discovered at a mound close to the E. of Tawya-gyaung monastery, Thiripyitsaya." See U Mya, *ASI* 1930–34, Part II, Pl. C (f), and Part I, pp. 179–180. Of the three mounds close to the E. of the Tawya-gyaung, "one marks the site of a monastery. . . . At the N.E. corner of the monastery-site and close to the foundations of a wall, there were found two bull-heart-shaped vases of burnt clay containing mercury. Each vase, about 5½ in. in height, was glazed and strongly made.

For a similar bull-heart-shaped vase, listed at *ASB* 1909, p. 23 (item 649) as "Chinese exhibit in the Pagán Museum. Relic-casket," see *Neg.* 649 (1908–09). Find-spot not stated. See also Taw Sein Ko, "Chinese antiquities at Pagán," *JBRS* Vol. I, Part II, fig. 4, and p. 2: "Unearthed at village of Myinkaba."

(d) *Negs.* [2055 and] 2056 (1919–20). "An earthenware relic-casket found at a ruined pagoda, Hsa-meikshé village," Thazi, Meiktila district. Found together with the bronze standing Buddha (Pl. 430 c) and the bronze mirror (Pl. 450 c). See *ASB* 1920, p. 33 (items 64–67) and pp. 23–24.

Plate 453.

(a) *Neg.* 3181 (1929–30). "A hookah-shaped earthen vessel" (? water-goglet), "found at a mound in Maung Paw's field, E. of Ananda temple." Compare the bronze goglet (Pl. 451 c, d).

(b, c) Two earthenware pots found by cultivators, in Oct. 1960, S. of Nat-hlaung-gyaung, in the moat just outside the city-wall of Pagán.
[phot. Ba Shin]
The taller one measures 14 in. high. Diameter of mouth 8½ in. Max. circumference 36 in. The rounder one measures 11 in. high. Diameter of mouth 6½ in. Max. circumference 32 in.

Plate 454. *The Pagán Cetiya* (elevation and cross-section) – hypothetical reconstructions by U Htwé Sein.
See Text, Ch. XIII, pp. 234 follg.

(a) Old Style – with *harmikā*.

(b) 'Aniruddha' style – without *harmikā*.

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Plate 455. MONASTERIES.

(a) *Neg.* 5524 (1953-54). Plan of brick monastery S. of Sômingyi pagoda, ½ mile S. of Myinpagán. It consists of a chapel, 11 cells, lobby and two-storeyed frontage, with stone-flagged floors and staircase in S.E. corner. The central garth was once filled with a two-storeyed wooden building or college. The monastery measures 83 ft. from E. to W., and 79 ft. from N. to S.

See Duroiselle, *A.S.I.* 1936, pp. 71–72 and Pl. XXXI a, b; 1937, pp. 75–76 and Pl. XXIX. Two votive tablets found in one of the cells, are similar to others of 'Aniruddha' type found in Shwehsandaw relic-chamber, and one in a mound S. of the Taw-ya-gyaung with Pyu writing (v. *A.S.I.* 1927, Pl. XXXIX a, and 1928, p. 125).

See also the earlier notice by the architect Braxton Sinclair at *J.B.R.S.* Vol. X, Part I, p. 3 and Plate 7 ("Monastery S. of Apeyatana"), reprinted in *Fiftieth Anniversary Publications* No 2, p. 507 and Pl. 7. He notes "the windows and most of the doors" as having "flat arches with radiating voussoirs beautifully finished. . . . It is very doubtful and improbable that this refinement of the arch principle was even known to any nation in Europe at this period".

Cf. Lu Pe Win, *Pictorial Guide to Pagan*, pp. 59–60. Text, p. 250.

(b) *Neg.* 3915 (1936–37). Two-storeyed chapel with ambulatory, on W. side of the monastery S. of Sômingyi pagoda.

(c) Compare similar plan of Salban Vihāra on the Mainamati hills W. of Comilla, in East Pakistan – the *Patikkarā* of Old Burmese inscriptions. Reproduced, by kind permission of the Pakistan Government, from the plan shown facing p. 3 of Dr. F. A. Khan's booklet, "Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla (1956)".

For the more usual type of brick monastery at Pagán, see Plate 183.

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— Stone 25 (2 faces). Archaic Burmese. Reign of Cañsū I. *I.B.* Pl. III 311 a, b. [Text, pp. 83[5], 115–116].

— Stone 28 (2 faces). Burmese (Shinbinbodhi). 754, 755 *s.*/1392–3 A.D. *List* 763. *P.P.A.* 196. [Text, p. 205[10]].

— Stone 33. Burmese. 638 *s.*/1276 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. III 258. [Text, p. 74[186]].

— Stone 42 (2 faces). Burmese. From Môkku pagoda, Shwégyaung monastery. 598 *s.*/1236 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. I 91. [Text, p. 126, 126[55]].

— Stone 48 (2 faces). Burmese. From *Thawpatkī kloṅ* (?). 598 *s.*/1237 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. I 94a. [Text, p. 126[55]].

— Stone 57 (W. face, Obv.). Burmese. From Taingchut (*Tuiṅkhet*) temple. 541 *s.*/1179 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. I 6. [Text, 42[196], 89[21, 22], 94[44], 204[3], 411[10]].

— Stone 57 (E. face, Rev.). 501–2, 706 *s.*/1140, 1345 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. V 476. [Text, 89[23], 94[44]].

— Stone 63. Burmese. From Lédaunggan, Minnanthu (?). 604 *s.*/1242–3 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. II 145 [Text, p. 83[5]].

— Stone 68 (2 faces). Mon (Shinbinbodhi). *I.B.* Pl. III 300, 301. [Text, p. 106[27], 106–107].

— Stone 77. Burmese. From near Shwé Ônhmin, Hngetpyittaung. 773 *s.*/1412 A.D. *List* 844. U.B. II 214–216 [Text, p. 256[277]].

— Stone 78 (2 faces). Burmese. From a cave S. of Hngetpyittaung village. 787, 813 *s.*/1425, 1451 A.D. *List* 879a, b. U.B. II 217, 218 [Text, p. 256[277]].

— Stone 79 (2 faces). Burmese. From Hmyāthat Ônhmin. 6 *s.*/1442 A.D. *List* 935a, b. *P.P.A.* 91–94 [Text, p. 256[277]].

— Stone 89. Burmese. From Thatbyinnyu temple (?). 696 *s.*/1333–4 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. IV 450a. [Text, pp. 94[45], 412[15]].

— Stone 94. Thai inscription. From Mergui (?). 14th or early 15th century A.D. See Cham Tòngkamwan and A. B. Griswold, *Artibus Asiae*, XXIV, 3/4, pp. 249–250 [Text, p. 100[10]].

— Stone 95. Tamil-Sanskrit inscription. From Myinpagán. 13th century A.D. See Dr. E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, 1902–03, No. 27, pp. 197–198 [Text, 218[99], 218–219].

— Stone 133 (2 faces). Burmese. Found in a bomb-crater near Swèdaw Zedi at top of Tuywindaung. 581 *s.*/1219 A.D. [Text, p. 4[4]].

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— Stone 135 (2 faces). Archaic Burmese. Found in ruined temple S.E. of Nagayôn. 482 *s.*/1121 A.D. *I.B.* Pl. II, 111, 112 [Text, 107[31], 107–108].
— Pillar (4 faces) in N. Shed. Mon. Kyanzittha's Mrakan reservoir inscription. *Ep. Birm.* I, II, Inscr. III, pp. 131–142 [Text, 56, 56[48], 345, 345[2]].
— Pillar (4 faces) in N. Shed. Mon. Kyanzittha's Alampagán reservoir inscription. *Ep. Birm.* I, II, Inscr. IV, p. 143. *I.B.* Pl. V 550, 551 [Text, 56, 56[49]].
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BOTANICAL INDEX

I am not a botanist. In this Index I merely assemble such material as has come to me in reading the Old Mon and (mostly pre-Standard) Old Burmese inscriptions of Pagán. The two chief sources have been: –

(i) the various lists, Mon and Burmese, of the Bodhi-trees of the 28 Buddhas (Text, pp. 391–397).

(ii) Sumedha's Old Burmese list of trees, flowers, etc., engraved on the reverses of the thousand votive tablets at the Chitsagôn site (Text, pp. 102–104; and Catalogue of Plates 41–48) – perhaps the oldest writings in Burmese extant.

If my view about this Chitsagôn trove is right, both these lists originated from a desire to find equivalents in the two chief Burma vernaculars for terms, mostly botanical, encountered in translating Buddhist texts in Pali or Sanskrit. The common culture was Buddhist: but the three languages – Sanskrit/Pali, Mon and Burmese – had little in common; and the botanical climates in which their speakers lived were very different. Here one needs to distinguish – (a) the plateau-climate of Yünnan; and, in particular, the high wet river-gorges on its western side, along which the proto-Burmans had found their way into Burma; (b) the frost-line (around 3000 ft. above sea level) which sharply divides Burma's temperate from its tropic flora; (c) the hot half-desert climate of Central Burma (*Tattadesa*), where the *Mranmā* settled, with a yearly rainfall around 30 inches; (d) the lush monsoon climate of Lower Burma, where most of the Mons lived, with a yearly rainfall at Thatôn of over 200 inches, and two distinct seasons, wet and dry; (e) the Malayan climate to the south, with an almost daily shower throughout the year. The climate of India, no doubt, had contrasts equally great; but the flora, even of Magadha, often differs from that of Burma: e.g. the *Śāla* tree (*Shorea robusta*), prominent at the Buddha's birth and death, is not to be found in Burma. Old Burmese and Mon scholars must have worked hard before they found, in *Pentacme suavis*, a worthy approximation. We must, in fact, expect in this Index a number of mistakes, inaccuracies and confusions, not only mine; but the reader may, I hope, reach my conclusion that Rājakumār and his hard-worked, fast-working, band of scholars did their work pretty well, considering all the difficulties.

With regard to Mon, one feels especially grateful to Halliday and Shorto for what they have done to define botanical terms; but here much remains to be done by the botanists, as the following fact will show: – H. G. Hundley and U Chit Ko Ko's greatly enlarged Third Edition of the *List of Trees ..... recorded from Burma with Vernacular Names* (1961) devotes 131 pages to Burmese names and only 2 to Mon.

In the compilation of this Index I have consulted chiefly the following books (most are cited in the Bibliography):

Stevens. Rev. E. O. – *A Vocabulary, English and Peguan* – Rangoon, 1896.
Halliday. Robert – *Mon-English Dictionary*, 1922.
Shorto. H. L. – *Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon*, 1962.
Stevenson. R. C. – *Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary*. 1893.
Hundley. H. G. and U Chit Ko Ko – *List of Trees* .... 3rd Ed., 1961.
Monier-Williams – *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899.
Rhys-Davids and Stede – *Pali-English Dictionary*, P.T.S. 1921.
Buddhadatta – *English-Pali Dictionary*, P.T.S. 1955.
Mason. Rev. F. – *Burmah, its people and natural productions*, 2nd Ed., 1960.
Sawyer and Daw Nyun – *Classified List of the Plants of Burma*, Rangoon, 1927.

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Rodger. Alex. – *List of Trees* .... 2nd. Ed., 1922; *Forest Products of Burma*, 1936.
Burkill. I. H. – *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols., 1935.
Laufer. Bertold – *Sino-Iranica* – Chicago, 1919.
Abhidhānappadīpikā (Old and New Nissayas – Burmese) – see *Bib.* s.v. Kyaw-aung-san-hta Sayadaw and Aggadhammâbhivaṁsa.
Bȧ Shin – *Lokahteikpan* (v. pp. 117–8, 155–167).
J.B.R.S. Vol. XXX, I, April 1940, pp. 283–335; "The Economic Life of the Early Burman".

On the Burmese side I have also received precious help from our lexicographer U Wun, and on Old Khmer from Mme. Lewitz: in particular, from the recent article by J. E. Vidal, G. Martel and S. Lewitz, "Notes Ethnobotaniques sur quelques plantes en usage au Cambodge" (*BEFEO*, LX, 1969, pp. 171–232).

ABBREVIATIONS: – *O.M.*, *Mid. M.*, *M.* or *L.M.* – Old, Middle and Late Mon, transcribed. *O.B.*, *B.* or *L.B.* – Old and Late Burmese transcribed. Phonetic pronunciations in square brackets. *Skt.* – Sanskrit. Lok. – Lokahteikpan. Botanical identifications generally given according to works mentioned above by Hundley, Burkill, and Shorto. Other references by names of authors of works listed above.

Acacia catechu 198, 308. Cutch tree of the Dry Zone. *Skt./Pali* khadira (Rigveda). *O.B.* rhā (Lok. 139). *B.* rhā: [ʃɑ⁴]. *Malay* kachu. *L.M.* krak lakaṁ [krɛk takɔm]. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 481.

Acacia concinna 103. Soap acacia climber. Pl. 44 (m, n), 48 (b). *O.B.* kampon, kampwon. *B.* kaṅpwan: [kĩ³bũ⁴] *M.* kapow [kəpo], parop [pərop].

Acacia leucophloea White-barked acacia of the Dry Zone. *O.B.* tannhoṅ, tanhoṅ (*I.B.* I 6¹⁹). *B.* tʿanhoṅ:, tʿanoṅ: [tʿănɑũ:].

Acanthus ilicifolius 103. Mimusops blossom. Pl. 45 (j) khirhā, khīḥrhā. *B.* kʿarā: [kʿăyɑ⁴]? *M.* keh [kih]? (Shorto gives the latter as **Mimusops elengi**).

Aegle marmelos 55, 206. Bael fruit, Bengal quince. *Skt.* bilva (Atharvaveda). *Pali* beluva. *O.M.* bil. *M.* bī [pì]. *O.B.* ò-ryat (Pl. 45 k), ūrec, ūryac. *B.* 'up-rhac [oʔʃɪʔ]. *O. Khmer* vinau.

Aglaia odorata 394–5. *Skt.* priyaṅgu. *Pali* piyaṅgu. *O.M.* (Lokahteikpan) biyaṅ – given in the *Nidānakathā* as the Bodhi tree of Piyadassī, whereas the *Buddhavaṁsa* gives *kakudha* (**Pentaptera Arjuna**). *O.M.* dirkuṅ (as given in Alôpyi') has not been identified.

Albizzia lebbek [Acacia sirissa] 396. Bodhi tree of Kakusandha. *Skt.* śirīṣa. *Pali* sirīsa. *O.M.* cris, cruis. *M.* chu sruih [cʿuʔsɒh]. *O.B.* kutkuiw. *B.* kutkui [koʔko³].

Alstonia [Echites] scholaris 317, 385², 392. Bodhi tree of Taṇhaṅkara. *Skt.* saptaparṇa. *Pali* sattapaṇṇa "the seven-leaved". *O.M.* sreṅ. *M.* sreṅ [seaṅ] (= withered). *O.B.* cañrañ. *B.* carañ: [săyi⁴].

Anthocephalus [Nauclea] cadamba *Skt./Pali* kadamba, nīpa. *O.B.* ma-'ū [măʔu³]. Sometimes given as the Bodhi tree of Sumedha, instead of the *nimba* (**Melia indica**). Lace and Rodger (*List of Trees* ..... 1922 ed.) give *prung* as the Mon equivalent of *Anthocephalus cadamba*.

Arachis hypogaea 4. *Burm.* mre-pai: [myé³bɛ⁴]. Groundnut. Only introduced into Central Burma near the beginning of the present century. Original home South America.

Areca catechu 92³⁵, 255, 255²⁶⁶. Pl. 45 (a). Betul-nut Palm. *O.B.* kwam [sī], kwaṁ (II 111²⁴). *B.* kwam: [kũ⁴]. *O.M.* ? kmow (*E.B.* III, I, p. 40, n. 9). *L.M.* kmau. *Skt.* kramu. *Pali* kamuka. *O.M.* sac [sɔt] (= fruit) takes on, in *Mid. M.* [XII H³⁹), the meaning of areca nut. *Shan* mak-mu (areca-nut).

Bamboos 102–4, 394. Sujāta's Bodhi-tree was the Great Bamboo (*Pali* mahāveḷu, *Skt.* veṇu). *O.M.* dŭñ. *M.* dun [tùn] = bamboo. *O.B.* wā. *B.* wā: [wɑ⁴]. Sujāta's tree, as given in W.K. temple, is *krāluiw wā*, *B.* kralui wa: [tjălo³ wɑ⁴], **Dendrocalamus brandisii.** Cf. *M.* dun tali [tùn kəlɔeʔ], **Dendrocalamus giganteus.** At Pls. 44 (k, l), 46 (i), 47 (c, d) *O.B.* kra' klū, kra klū are terms which,

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according to U Wun, "appear to combine generic names or prefixes for Bamboo (*kra*) and Reeds (*kyū*)." See his note in the Catalogue under Pl. 44 (l). Once "Hermit's Bamboo-Reed" appears to be mentioned (Pl. 48 c). O. B. *wā* may possibly derive from Skt./Pali *vaṁsa*.

Barringtonia acutangula? 171. *Pali* mucala, mucalinda (the tree whose guardian serpent sheltered the Buddha during his 3rd (or 6th) week after the Enlightenment) is so identified in the P.T.S. dictionary. *O.M.* has simply mohclen and *O.B.* mucalin. In modern *B.* the white-flowered *kyi*, *kyai*: or *kyai*:*krī*: tree is so identified by Hundley, Judson and Mason.

Bauhinia acuminata 395. Hundley gives the white *mahāhlega*: as the Burmese equivalent of this. And *mahālikā*, *mahāliykā* is given as the regular Old Burmese equivalent of the Bodhi-tree of Siddhattha. His tree in the Pali is *kaṇikāra*, **Pterospermun acerifolium** (see *infra*).

Benincasa cerifera, the white gourd or ash pumpkin, the 'kyauk-payôn' or "stone-pumpkin" of Modern Burmese, the "silver pumpkin" (*khapī san*, *spī san*, pronounced 'həpɔe') of Modern Mon, the 'winter pumpkin (*tung-kwa*) of Chinese. Provisionally we identify it with the "Tamil pumpkin" (*kleñ phūruṁ*) of the Chitsagôn plaques (Pl. 41 d). Note the *Sanskrit* name *kāliṅga* (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 445).

Bignonia [or **Stereospermum**] **suaveolens** 392, 396. *Pali*/*Skt.* pāṭalī, the Bodhi-tree of Vipassī. *O.M.* (Kyazin) gives *twew*, *L.M.* *c'u twéau*, "a tree in the Asura world" (Halliday), sc. Pali *cittapāṭalī*, the pied trumpet-flower. *O.B.* gives either *saṁsat* (*Stereospermum fimbriatum*) or *sac-khok-wat*, *sackhawat*. *L.B.* saṁsat [θã³θaʔ], *sakhwat* [θãk'ʊʔ], other species of *Stereospermum*. O.M. (Lokahteikpan) may give *twoṅ* (*Ricinus communis*); but the reading is doubtful.

Bombax malabaricum, *or* **Salmalia malabarica** Silk-cotton tree or seemul. *Skt.* śālmali, *Pali* simbali. *O.B.* lakpaṁ [lɛʔpã³]. *Mon* c'u krik, c'u prāk [kroik, praik]. 33, 33[144], *Chinese* mu-mien. *Lolo* sala, *Lisu* sala (= cotton): see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 491, n. 4.

Borassus flabellifer 103, 233, 233[40]. Palmyra toddy-palm. *Skt.*/*Pali* tāla. *O.M.* tāl (III b[9]). *L.M.* tā [ta]. *O.B.* t'ăn (Pl. 44 i, j) [t'ã³].

Boswellia thurifera 392. *Pali* sālakalyāṇi, "auspicious *sāla* tree". Bodhi-tree of Koṇḍañña. *O.M.* sārakalyān, sālakalyān. Query *L.M.* sālapraṇī (*Hedysarum* or *Desmodium gangeticum*)? Identified with *O.B.* kroṅlhyā [tjɑ̃u³ ʃɑ³] "cat's tongue" (*Oroxylum indicum* or *Bignonia indica*). Also yaṅ tuik [yĩ⁴dɑiʔ] (*Dalbergia cultrata*).

Brassica nigra 103. Mustard plant. *O.B.* mun ñaṅ: [mõ³ñĩ⁴] (Pl. 41 c). *L.M.* rāai [rài]. *Skt.* sarṣapa. *Pali* sāsapa. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* pp. 380–2. Is mun-ñaṅ *Tib:* mon (Himalayan)-yuṅs (mustard)?

Buchanania latifolia 152. *Pali* rājāyatana "king-stead", royal tree of the fairies. *Skt.* kṣīrikā (the milk tree). *O.B.* laṅlwan, *L.B.* laṅ:lwan: [lĩ⁴lũ⁴], where the Buddha spent his final week near the Bodhi tree, and received rice-cakes and honey from Tapussa and Bhallika.

Butea frondosa 84[10], 385[2], 392. *Skt.* parṇa, palāśa, kiṁśuka. *Pali* palāsa, kiṁsuka. Bodhi-tree of Medhaṅkara. *O.M.* puṁpuṅ, paṁpuṅ. *L.M.* bapuṅ. *O.B.* pok [pɑuʔ²] (*I.B.* Pl. III 224[26]).

Caesalpinia bonducella *Skt.* kalimāraka, kalimālaka, kalimālya. *O.B.* klī mlyaṅ (Pl. 45 b). *L.B.* kalim [kălẽ³]. See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates.

Calamus spp. (etc.) Cane, Rattan. *O.B.* krīm, krim luṁ (thorny rattan – *I.B.* I 5[12]; Pl. II 166 a[51]). *L.B.* krim [tjẽ³]. *Mid. M.* ḃuiw (XII E[18, 33])? *L.M.* ḃaw [ɓɔ]. *Skt.*/*Pali* vetasa.

Calotropis procera *or* **gigantea** Mudar tree and blossom. *O.B.* muriw pwoṅ (Pl. 45 o). *L.B.* murui: [mă̆yo⁴]. *Skt.* mandāra. *Pali* mandārava (? Coral tree).

Cardamoms. Elettaria, Amomum etc. 103, 104. *Skt.* eḷā, bahula. *Pali* bahulā. *O.B.* phalā (Pl. 41 e, f, g; 48 d). *L.B.* p'ālā [p'ɑ³lɑ³], v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 585.

Careya arborea *Skt.* (Atharvaveda) pīlu. *O.B.* pānpūy, pānpūy krī (Pl. 44 a, b). *L.B.* b'an'b'we: [bã'² bwé⁴].

Chickrassia tabularis Chittagong wood. *O.B.* raṅmā (Pl. 45 g). *I.B.* Pl. II 140 b[6]. *L.B.* yaṅ:mā, yaṅ:ma.

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Cicer arietinum 103. Gram. *O.B.* kulā pāy "Indian bean" (Pl. 42 d). Query *L.M.* ḅai loṁ [ɓoa lòm], Chickpea ?

Citrus medica 103, 206. Lemon, citron, sweet lime. *O.B.* rhok [pwāṅ] = lemon blossom (Pls. 41 b; 48 a). *L.B.* rhok [ʃɑuʔ]. *Malay* jĕrok. Javanese jĕrok. *Skt./Pali* mātuluṅga. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* pp. 301[6], 581. *L. Mon* mak krut [mɛ̀ak krɔt].

Clitoria ternatea Blue-flowered climber. *O.B.* òṅ ma ñiw (Pl. 41 g). *L.B.* 'ok mai: ñui [ɑuʔmɛ̀[4]ño[3]], 'oṅ maṅ:ñui [ɑũ[3] mɛ̀[4]ño[3]].

Cocos nucifera Coconut. *O.M.* (Siam, 7th cent.) taṁ brāw. *Mid. M.* tnam brau (XV B[39]). [nɔm prɛ̀a]. *O.B.* ūn (Pl. 41 b), un (*I.B.* II 121 a[7]). *L.B.* 'un: [õ[4]]. *Shan* 'un. *Malay* nyior. *Pali* nāḷikera. *Skt.* nālikera. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 585.

Coix Lachrymae Jobis Job's tears. 103. *O.B.* klit (Pl. 44 o, p). *L.B.* kyit [tjéʔ]. *Malayan* jĕlai, jali. *Skt./Pali* nīvāra (= wild rice ?). See my note at *J.B.R.S.* XXX, I, 1940, p. 302; and U Wun's in the Catalogue of Plates.

Corypha umbraculifera Talipot, book-palm. *O.B.* piy (*I.B.* III 235[38]). *L.B.* pe[3]. *L.M.* tnaṁ ruit [rɜ̀t]. Cf. *Tib.* dpe = book (?).

Crataeva spp. 394–395, 395[16]. *O.M.* birley. *L.M.* balai [həloa], *Crataeva religiosa* or *roxburghii*, the three-leaved Caper tree. *Skt./Pali* varaṇa. This is given (in Kyazin temple) as the Bodhi tree of Piyadassī. Some *O.B.* versions give *riy kan t'ak* or *riy k'an tak*, *L.B.* re-khatak [yé[3]k'ăɛʔ], i.e. *Crataeva hygrophila*. But the *Buddhavaṁsa* gives Piyadassī's tree as *kakudha* (*Pentaptera arjuna*), and the *Nidānakathā* as *piyaṅgu*. *O.M.* dirkuṅ is not identified. The *O.B.* variant *sisyat* is the emblic myrobalan tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*).

Cucumis melo According to Laufer and others (see *Sino-Iranica*, p. 440 and n. 2), this is the "sweet melon" (*tien-kua*) of the Chinese. Probably it is the *sikhwā hmūy*, "fragrant *cucumis*" of Old Burmese (Pl. 44 c, d). *L. Mon* ga-ī tmå [həi mɔʔ].

Cucumis sativus Cucumber. *v.* Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 300–301. Perhaps this is the "tender *cucumis*", *sikhwo nū* of Old Burmese (Pl. 44 e), and the "yellow melon" (*huang-kua* of 6th century Chinese. *O.B.* si-k'wā [θăk'wɑ[4]] is assuredly connected with Archaic Chinese *kwå (*Grammata Serica* 41 a).

Cynodon (Panicum) dactylon 70, 70[155]. 'Doob' grass, "the earliest grass". *Skt.* dūrvā. *Pali* dubbā. *O.M.* jiljup, jiljip. *L.M.* khyoai dajuip, dajip [həcɜ̀p, həcìp]. *L.B.* mre-jā mrak [myé[3]za[3]].

Dalbergia cultrata Maulmein ebony, blackwood. *O.B.* yaṅtuik *L.B.* yaṅ:tuik [yĩ[4]dɑiʔ]. *L.M.* krak grań [krɛk krɛ̀aṅ]. Once given in *O.B.* as the Bodhi tree of Koṇḍañña. (*J.B.R.S.* XXX, 1940, p. 316). *Vedic* śiṁśapā.

Diospyros burmanica *or* kaki? A fruit-tree. *B.* tañ [sī:]. Query *O.B.* tī sī (Pl. 42 k)? *Pali/Skt.* tinduka. Cf. *I.B.* IV 456 a[14, 16, 18].

Dipterocarpus spp. Wood-oil tree. *O.B.* kanñaṅ (*I.B.* III 246[5]), *L.B.* kañaṅ [kăñĩ[3]]. *L.M.* gayāṅ [həyàiṅ]. *Khmer* yāṅ (*D. alatus*).

Dolichandrone [Markhamia, Bignonia] stipulata 393. *O.B.* p'okkram', p'okkraṁ, p'lokkram. Given in *O.B.* lists as the Bodhi tree of Anomadassī. Is the old word synonymous with *L.B.* t'okkraṁ' [t'ɑuʔ tjā'[2]], applied to *Terminalia alata* etc.? Elsewhere Anomadassī's tree is given as *Pali* ajjuna, *O.M.* kloṅ, *Pentaptera arjuna*.

Dolichos lablab (var. lignosus) 103. ? *O.B.* pāy krī "big bean" (Pl. 42 a, b). *v.* Sawyer and Daw Nyun, p. 11.

Embelia ribes (climber, fruit of). 103. *O.B.* ip mhūy (Pl. 44 f, g). Identified with *Skt.* viḍaṅga, *Pali* bilaṅga. See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates; and *Sino-Iranica*, p. 582.

Eragrostis spp. ? *O.B.* siman. *L.B.* saman: [θămã[4]]. Identified on a Mingalazedi plaque (Kusanāḷi Jāt. 121) and elsewhere (v. Judson's Dictionary, p. 1122) with *Pali* kusa, *Skt.* kuśa. This is identified in the dictionaries as *Poa cynosuroides*. *O.M.* (same Jātaka) gus. *L.M.* lha khuih [hlaʔ k'ɒh]. A different O. B. equivalent for *Kuśa* is given in a Wetkyi-in Kubyaukgyi ink-gloss (same Jātaka); but the reading is not clear.

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Erythrina indica 176, 379, 385², 387. Red Coral tree over Indra's throne. *Skt.* pārijāta. *Pali* pāricchattaka ("shading all around"). *O.M.* taṁ puṁpeṅ pārijāt (MK 70, 163), taṁ pimpeṅ pārikajāt (Lokahteikpan). *L.M.* bapeṅ [həpeaṅ]. *L.B.* kasac [kăθɪʔ].

Erythrina fulgens 395. Coral tree or flower, one of the five celestial trees. *Skt.* mandāra. *Pali* mandārava.

Eugenia spp. 91, 159, 395. Rose-apple. *Skt./Pali* jambu. *O. Khmer* vreṅ, vryaṅ. *O.M.* kreṅ (*Ep. Birm.* II, I, 352), taṁ kreṅ jaṁbu (Păhtothămya). *L.M.* kreṅ [kreaṅ]. *O.B.* sipriy, siprīy. (*I.B.* Pl. I 11¹²). *L.B.* sapre [θăbyé³].

Feronia elephantum Elephant-apple. *Skt.* kapittha. *Pali* kaviṭṭha. *O. Khmer* khvit. *Mid. Mon* (XII K³³) kwet. *L.M.* kwit [kwɛt]. Mason (p. 452) identifies this with *B.* mhan "wood apple". Cf. *O.B.* mhān rwaṅ (Pl. 45 m. But see U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates).

Ferula spp. which yield the gum-resin *Asa foetida.* v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 353–362. *Skt./Pali* hingu. *Malay* inggu. *O.B.* hinkiw (Pl. 45 i). *L.B.* rhin:khui [ʃẽ⁴go³]. *L.M.* ṅu [ṅùʔ]. 102, 103.

Ficus glomerata 396–7. Sycamore or Clustered Fig. *Skt./Pali* udumbara, the Bodhi tree of Koṇāgamana. *O. Khmer* lvā. *O. Mon* lwi (?). *L.M.* wi [wiʔ]. *O.B.* rī siphan (Lok. 145); riy siphan "water-fig", *L.B.* ye sapʿan: [yé³θăpʿã⁴]. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 411–414. Laufer spells the Indian word *udambara*, and traces similar names in S. China from the Tʿang dynasty onwards.

Ficus hispida, F. cunia *O.B.* si'twot, sitwot, sitwāt (Pl. 43 e, f, g). *L.B.* sadwat [θădʊʔ]. *L.M.* khadat [hətòt].

Ficus indica *or* **bengalensis** 85, 152, 166, 170, 171, 317, 385², 397. *Skt.* nyagrodha ("growing downwards"). *Pali* nigrodha; ajapāla ("goatherds'" tree). Banyan. Bodhi treee of Kassapa. *O.M.* jrey suṁ, jreai suṁ. *Mid. M.* jray suṁ, jray suṁm [XIII A⁴, ²⁴). *L.M.* jrai suṁ [soà sum]. *O.B.* prañ ñoṅ (Lok. 201; *S.I.P.* p. 165 etc.). *L.B.* pañoṅ [păñɑũ³].

Ficus infectoria 392. Parspipal or wave-leaved fig-tree. *Skt.* plakṣa. *Pali* pilakkha. *O.B.* ñoṅ khyan "sour fig". *L.B.* ñoṅ khya*ñ* [ñɑũ³ djĩ³]. *O.B.* in at least two instances makes this the Bodhi tree of Saraṇaṅkara, and in one instance that of Dīpaṅkara (v. Ba Shin, *Lokahteikpan*, pp. 164–5); but there may be confusion with *Ficus obtusifolia* (*Pali* pipphalī), which Old Mon attributes to both Buddhas. Shorto identifies *F. infectoria* with *L.M.* jrai tḅuiṅ [sòa ɓaṅ], *O.M.* tḅoṅ (?).

Ficus obtusifolia 385², 392. *O.M.* jrey toñ. *L.M.* jrai ton [sòa ton]. This is *O.B.* ñoṅ krat [ñɑũ³ tjaʔ]. This is the Bodhi tree generally attributed to Dīpaṅkara in Burma; but the *Pali* term, pipphalī, *Skt.* pippala, normally means the Peepal, *Ficus religiosa*–the *aśvattha* tree of Gotama Buddha.

Ficus religiosa 134, 167, 170, 392, 397. *Skt.* pippala, Peepal, the "horse-stand" *aśvattha* tree of the Rig Veda. *Pali* pipphalī; assattha. Bodhi tree of Gotama. *O.M.* jrey asat; *L.M.* jrai [sòa]. *O.B.* ñoṅ, ñoṅ puttahiy ("Bodhi fig tree"). *L.B.* ñoṅ bodhi (ñɑũ³ bɔ⁴di').

Gomphraena globosa Globe Amaranth flower. *O.B.* ñhiw pān (Pl. 42 i), "fading flower", which U Wun, probably rightly, would correct to *ma ñhiw pān*, "unfading flower", i.e. *Skt.* amlāna, amalātaka, *Pali* amilāta = Globe Amaranth. *L. Mon* la'jra [lòʔ sɛ̀ʔ].

Gossypium spp. Cotton, cotton thread. *O.M.* tol (*Ep. Birm.* II, I, 130). *Mid. M.* twor (XII E¹⁸). *L.M.* tow [to]. From *Skt./Pali* tūla. The *O.B.* words, *waw* (*I.B.* IV 380³²), *wa kwaṁ* (*I.B.* V 488 a⁶), may possibly derive from *Tib.* bal (= wool).

Hibiscus rosa sinensis Shoe-flower. *O.B.* khoṅran (*I.B.* I 5¹¹). *L.B.* khoṅ ran: [kʿɑũ³yã⁴]. *L.M.* pkau khaba [kao həpɛ̀ʔ]. *Mid. Khmer* cpā.

Imperata arundinacea Thatch-grass. *O.B.* sac ṅay "little wood" (*I.B.* IV 427 b¹, 428²⁸). *L.B.* sak ṅay (pron. θɛʔkɛ³). *L.M.* suit [sɒt].

Jasminum sambac Indian (?) jasmine. *Skt./Pali* mallikā. *Anc. Chinese* mo-li [mwât-li]. *O.M.* mlir (*IC*⁸). *L.M.* mluiw [pəlɜ̀]. *O. Khmer* mulīḥ. *Malay* mĕlor, mĕlati. *L.B.* mrat-lé: [myaʔ-lé⁴].

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v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 329–333; Burkill II, pp. 1264–7. Hundley identifies it with *L.B.* 'sabè' – *O.B.* caṁpăy (*I.B.* II 113[16], 133[10]; IV 382[4], etc.), which occurs especially in names of women – a name doubtless derived from the Nāga king of Campā (Jātaka 506). U Wun identifies it with *O.B.* krak krūn, krok krūn, krwak krūn (see Pl. 42 g, h, i – Catalogue of Plates). I am doubtful about this: *L.B.* krak rum: ("a species of coffee-wort", according to Judson) is identified by Hundley as *Prismatomeris albidiflora*.

Kaempferia [Gastrochilus] pandurata *O.B.* chi phūh (Pl. 42 f). *L.B.* chit phū: [sʿéʔ pʿu[4]], *Kaempferia* rhizome. *Pali* vacatta, vacattha. See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates; see also Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 313, n. 3.

Lagenaria vulgaris Bottle-gourd, calabash; phial. *Skt.* (Atharvaveda) alābu. *Pali* lābu. *Malay* labu. *O.B.* phuh, phū (Lok. 216; *I.B.* I 4[5]). *L.B.* bʿū: [bu[4]]. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 197, 440, n. 2. *Arch. Chinese* *b'yog (*Gram. Ser.* 1157 l) = gourd.

Mangifera indica Mango tree and fruit. *O.M.* truk (*Ep. Birm.* II, I, 60, 61). *L.M.* kruk [krɜk]. *O.B.* si-ryak (Pl. 42 e). *L.B.* sarak [θăyɛʔ]. *Skt.* āmra. *Pali* amba. The "fragrant mango", *Skt./Pali* puṇḍarīka, the Bodhi tree of Sikhī, is given as the "white mango", *siryăk phlū* in *O.B.* (Text, p. 396, and *S.I.P.*, p. 165), and *kruk btāṅ* in *L.M.* Gaṇḍa's mango tree at the gate of Sāvatthi was of this kind. For the Mango's history, see Burkill, II, pp. 1403–06: Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 552.

Melia [Azadirachta] indica 247, 385[2], 394. Neem tree or tragacanth. Bodhi-tree of Sumedha. *Skt./Pali* nimba. *O.M.* slim. *L.M.* sliṁ [hlɛm]. *O.B.* tanmā, tanmā-khā, taṁmā-khā, "the bitter neem". *L.B.* tamākhā: [tămɑ[3]kʿɑ[4]].

Mesua ferrea 64, 64[96], 193, 193[59], 194, 385[2], 393. Iron-wood tree. Bodhi-tree of Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita Buddhas, and flower of the future Buddha Maitreya. *Skt.* nāgakesara, nāgapuṣpa. *Pali* nāga. *O.M.* kajnu'. *L.M.* 'agnu, 'anhu [əhnùʔ]. *O.B.* sāniw (Pl. 45 h); kaṁkau sanuiw, kaṁkaw sanuw (*S.I.P.* pp. 162–3). *L.M.* kaṁ'kô [gã'[2] gɔ[3]].

Michelia champaka 395. Champac. Bodhi-tree of Atthadassī. *Skt./Pali* campaka. *O.M.* caṁ, caṁgā. *L.M.* campā [cɔmpa]. *O. Khmer* caṁpā. *O.B.* caṁkā. *L.B.* caṁkā: [zăgɑ[4]].

Momordica monadelpha (?) The Bodhi tree of Dhammadassī is said to be *Pali* bimbajāla "golden net", explained in a commentary as *ratta kuravaka*, "the red amaranth tree". In Sanskrit *bimbā* or *bimbajā* is given as "*Momordica monadelpha*, a plant bearing a bright red gourd"; *kurabaka* as "red amaranth or a red kind of *Barleria*". These. I think, are hedge-plants or shrubs, hardly suitable for a Buddha, 80 cubits high, to sit under. But Momordicas are climbers: they can be grown in shady pergolas, and their bitter fruits are popular eating. Of the two *O.M.* equivalents, one (hardly legible) suggests a silvery colour; the other is *chu ñjey mat* "eye-disease tree". *Momordica* is certainly used medicinally, but not (so far as I know) for sore eyes. The *O.B.* name, *myaknhā pan* "face-flower", is applied (so Hundley and Chit Ko Ko state on p. 375) to three shrubs or small trees: *Ervatamia ophirrhizoides*, *Hemigraphis flava* and *Pavetta indica*. The *O.M.* name for *Momordica charantia* was krawel (*I.B.* I 3[4]), *L.M.* kawew [kəwe].

Morinda spp. 103. *O.B.* rāy riw (Pl. 45 n). *L.B.* rai:rui [yɛ[4]yo[3]] – a well-known tree with fruit used as a febrifuge. *ray ruiw*, *rai ruiw* occur again at *I.B.* IV 456[15-20], V 480 a[8]. *Siam.* yo. *Lao.* ño. *Vietnam.* nhàu.

Musa sapientum Banana, plantain. *O.M.* brāt. (*I.B.* III 300[2]) *L.M.* brāt [pràt]. *O.B.* ṅhāk pyow, ṅhāpyow (Pl. 42 c, d). For other *O.B.* spellings, *ṅhakplyiw*, *ṅhakplyaw*, *ṅhakplyuiw*, see *I.B.* II 140 a[5], b[3, 9]. *L.B.* ṅhakpyo: [hṅɛʔpyɔ[4]].

Nelumbium speciosum, Nelumbo nucifera 196, 198. Sacred Lotus, red or white. *Skt.* padma, raktapadma, śvetapadma. *Pali* paduma, rattapaduma, setapaduma. *O.B.* krǎ, krǎ nī (Pl. 43 d), krā phlū. *O.M.* dirkas. *Mid. M.* dakah (XV B[38]). *L.M.* dakah [həkɔh].

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Nigella sativa 103. Black cummin, small fennel. *Arabic* kammūn. *Persian* kamūn. *O.B.* cimu nak "black *cimu*" (Pl. 41 h). *L.M.* camun nak [sămõ³ nɛʔ]. Is *O.B.* cimu kri "big *cimu*" (Pl. 41 i), *L.M.* camun krī: [sămõ³ dji⁴], Fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*)? v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 383–4.

Nymphaea stellata (*or* **caerulea**). 198. Blue water-lily, Nenuphar. *Skt.* utpala, nīlôtpala. *Pali* uppala. *O.M.* uppal. *L.M.* uppuiw. *L.B.* krā ñui [tja³ño³].

Nymphaea esculenta Edible white water-lily. *Skt./Pali* kumuda. Mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. *O.M.* kumuit. Is either of these *O.B.* krǎ tanc'ip [tjɑ³ tǎzéʔ] (Pl. 43 b, c), the "Seal Lotus"? Or is this the *Vedic/Pali* puṇḍarīkaṁ, the white lotus? U Wun thinks the latter: see his note in the Catalogue of Plates.

Oroxylum indicum (Bignonia indica) 392, 394. Trumpet flower. *Skt.* śoṇa, śyoṇāka; *Pali* soṇa; the "Crimson tree". Bodhi-tree of Paduma and Nārada. *O.M.* drāṅ ek, dluṅ ek. *L.M.* draṅ ʾek [krèaṅ eak]. *O.B.* kroṅ lhyā "cat's tongue" [tjɑũ³ ʃɑ³]. Other attempts to identify the tree are *O.M.* luntiḥ (?), and *O.B.* mun ("bread tree", *Artocarpus* ?) and *kluṗ* [tjoʔ]. A "big *kluṗ* tree" is mentioned elsewhere in a list of land-boundaries (*I.B.* III 246⁶).

Oryza sativa Rice-plant, paddy. *O. Khmer* srŭ. *O.M.* sro'. *L.M.* srǒ [sɒ]. *O.B.* capā, cpā. *L.B.* capā: [săbɑ⁴]. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 372–3. Husked rice (prepared for cooking) is *O. Khmer* rańko. *O.M.* sṅo'. *L.M.* sṅu [haoʔ]. *O.B.* chan (Pl. 46 d). *L.B.* c'an [s'ã³], lit. kernel.

Pandanus furcatus Screwpine. *O.B.* chapswā (Pl. 46 c). *L.B.* chapswā: [s'aʔ θwɑ⁴]. Or possibly *Pandanus tectorius*, the fragnant screwpine. *L.B.* chapswā: p'ū: [s'aʔθăp'u⁴]. *L.M.* tnaṁ pkau sṅi tū [nɔm kao hɔeʔ tao]. In *O.B.* chapswā is often mentioned (*I.B.* I 25¹, 31¹⁸; III 273¹², 274³³, etc.).

Pentacme suavis 385², 394, 396. "Burmese Sal" (Burkill, II, p. 1690). corresponding to India's *Shorea robusta*. *O.B.* aṅkryaṅ (given as the Bodhi-tree of Padumuttara and Vessabhū). The word may be a borrowing from *O.M.* aṅgreṅ (given as the Bodhi-tree of Sikhī. *L.B.* aṅkraṅ: [ĩ³djĩ⁴]. *L.M.* aṅreṅ [ɛṅrèaṅ], the "lard Shorea".

Pentaptera (Terminalia) arjuna 380, 393, 394. *Skt.* arjuna. *Pali* ajjuna; kakudha. Bodhi-tree of Anomadassī and Piyadassī (?). In the latter case the *Nidānakathā* reads *piyaṅgu*. *O.M.* kloṅ [kloṅ] – sometimes identified with *Terminalia tomentosa* or *alata* (infra), which is possibly also *O.B.* phokkraṁ, given as Anomadassī's tree.

Pentaptera (Terminalia) tomentosa (*or* **alata**) 393, 395. *Skt./Pali* asana, the Bodhi-tree of Tissa. The *O.M.* equivalent here is *giguis*. Pali *asani* (Skt. *aśani*) is the Thunderbolt; and so is *L.M.* gaguir, gaguiw; but *O.M.* -s would normally pass into *-h*, not *-r* or *-w*. This tree, according to our botanists, is *L.B.* thok kraṁ' [t'ɑuʔ tjã'²]; but in *O.B.* Tissa's tree is almost always given as *Pterocarpus* (*O.B.* pitok, byātok, pyatoṅ); and so too in *L.M.* (nāḍū, māmḍū), the gum-kino tree.

Phoenix spp. including the Date Palm, for the history of which see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 385–391; and Burkill II, pp. 1712–4. *P. dactylifera* hardly grows or fruits in Burma, though the modern name for the fruit – *B.* cwaṁpalwaṁ [sũ³bălũ³], *M.* campalaṁ [cɔmpəlɔm] – is well known; and the Marsh Date Palm (*L.B.* saṅpoṅ: θĩ³bɑũ⁴) is not rare in Lower Burma. Gold models of date-palms (*sindi*) were offered in tribute to Kyanzittha: see Text, p. 64, and U Wun's note 95.

Phyllanthus *or* **Cicca emblica** 395, 396. Emblic myrobalan. *Skt./Pali* āmalaka. The Bodhi-tree assigned to Phussa in the *Nidānakathā*. It corresponds to *O.M.* tirluy, tarluy *L.M.* taluai [kəlɔe], "Otaheite gooseberry"; and to *O.B.* sisyāt, sisyā, *L.B.* rhac rhā [ʃɪʔ ʃɑ³]; but the usual Burmese name in the plains is now *jhī:phrū* [zi⁴ byu³], "white jujube". v. *Sino-Iranica*, p. 378.

Pinus [longifolia] 394, 394¹⁵. Pine-tree. Padumuttara's Bodhi-tree, as given in the *Buddhavaṁsa*, was *salaḷa*. If this is the same as *Skt./Pali* sarala, "the straight tree". it was a Pine. And this would agree with several *O.B.* lists which give tanrhum, tanrhuṁ, *L.B.* thaṅ:ru: [t'ĩ⁴yu⁴] = Pine. The *O.M.* equivalent is *sṅow*, which I do not find in the modern dictionaries.

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Piper betle Betel-leaf vine. *O.B.* saṁmhlū (*I.B.* I 36[19-23]), an old Mon-Khmer word. *O. Khmer* aṁlo, aṁlū. *Mid. Mon* sablu (XII E[55], L[15]). *L.M.* jablu [həplùʔ]. Cf. *Skt.* tāmbūla; *Pali* tambūla. *Siam.* blū. *Shan* pu.

Piper chaba ? v. Burkill, II, pp. 1742–3. ? *O.B.* cariw (Pl. 45 d). See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates. ? *Skt.* cavī, cavana. ? *Malay* sireh.

Piper longum 103. Cubeb (from the foot of the Himalaya southwards). *O.B.* phĭt khyaṅ [mryat], phi khyaṅ (Pls. 43, l, m, n; 47 b), root of Indian Long Pepper, *Skt.* pippalī mūla. *Pali* pipphalī. *Greek* πέπερι, pepper. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 375, Burkill II, pp. 1744–45.

Piper nigrum Black pepper (from the Western Ghats of India). v. Burkill II, pp. 1746–51; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 374–5. *Skt./Pali* marica. *O.B.* ṅrut (*I.B.* II 164[36, 38] – 1258 A.D.) – a term now transferred to the Chilli plant, *Capsicum*, from America. Black Pepper is now distinguished as "good, Indian pepper": *Mid. Mon* mrek gamih, mrek galā (XVI[20, 21] – 1457 A.D.), *L.M.* mrek khmih [peròik kəmɔeh]; *L.B.* ṅarut koṅ [ṅăyoʔ kɑũ[4]).

Plumbago spp. *O.B.* kan khyop (Pl. 42 j). *L.B.* kan' khyup [kã' chôʔ]. *Skt.* citraka. *Pali* cittaka. *Malay* chĕraka. *Jav.* godong ènchok. *Sundanese* ki ènchok (*P. zeylanica* – see Burkill II, p. 1775). See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates.

Poa cynosuroides Identified in the dictionaries with *Pali* kusa, *Skt.* kuśa. Cf. *O.M.* gus, *L.M.* [kamat] lha khuih [hlaʔ kʿɒh]. A bunch of it was *Pali* dabbha, *Skt.* darbha, 'doob'; *O.M.* jiljip, jiljup, *L.M.* dajip, dajuip [həcìp, həcɜ̀p]. See **Cynodon dactylon**, and, for the *O.B.* equivalent, **Eragrostis.**

Pterocarpus indicus 395. Gum kino tree, 'padauk'. *O.B.* pitok, pyatok, byātok, pyatoṅ. *L.B.* pitok [pădɑuʔ]. *L.M.* māmḍū, nāḍū [nəḍu, nèaḍu]. This, in *O.B.* and *L.M.*, is normally given as the Bodhi-tree of Tissa, which, in Pali, is *asana* (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, q.v.). Has there been a confusion between *Pali* asana and *Malay* angsana (= *Pterocarpus indicus*)? For the latter tree, see Burkill, II, pp. 1829–32.

Pterocarpus santalinus 103, 236[82], 394. Red sandalwood (used for caste-marks). *Skt.* rakta-candana. *Pali* lohita- or ratta-candana. *O.B.* tancikū nī (Pl. 42 l). For this Madras tree (which does not appear to grow in Burma), see Burkill, II, pp. 1832–33, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 459, 584.

Pterospermum acerifolium *Pali* kaṇikāra, kaṇṇikāra. *Skt.* karṇikāra. Bodhi-tree of Siddhattha. Our Burma botanists today identify it with the tall Taung-hpetwun tree [hill pʿɛʔwũ[4]], a *Sterculia* described by Rodger on p. 49 of his *Handbook of the Forest Products of Burma*. But in *O.B.* the equivalent of *kaṇikāra* is given as *mahālikā, mahāliykā*, now generally identified with various species of *Bauhinia*.

Punica granatum 103. Pomegranate. *Skt./Pali* dālima. *Malay* dĕlima. *Khmer* dadim. *O.B.* taleñ (Pl. 41 i, j). *L.B.* salai:, calai: [θălè[4]]. *L.M.* mak kuai [mèak kui]. For the history of the Pomegranate (originally Persian), see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 276–287; Burkill, II, pp. 1838–43.

Ricinus communis 385[2], 392, 395. Castor-oil tree. According to the *Buddhavaṁsa*, the Bodhi-tree of Phussa was the *āmaṇḍa* (*Skt.* ămaṇḍa, maṇḍa), which Monier-Williams identifies with the castor-oil plant, also called in ancient India *eraṇḍa*. Old Burma texts, Mon and Burmese, generally follow the *Nidānakathā* in making the *āmalaka* Phussa's tree. In MK Jātakas 109 (Kuṇḍakapūva) and 295 (Anta), where the Bodhisattva was a castor-oil tree spirit, the *O.M.* word is *twoṅ*, *L.M.* *toṅ* [toṅ]; and in Lokahteikpan *chu twoṅ* may possibly be the Bodhi-tree assigned to Vipassī, the Buddha next to Phussa. *twoṅ* is also a possible reading for Saraṇaṅkara's Bodhi-tree in Kyazin. The *L.B.* word for the tree is *krak chū* [tjɛʔ sʿu[3]]. For its history (it is thought to be African in origin), see *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 403–4; Burkill, II, pp. 1907–12.

Saccharum munja (? S. arundinaceum) *Skt.* (Ṛg Veda)/*Pali* muñja. The *O.B.* word occurs at *Lokahteikpan* 83 (q.v., with n. 34 on p. 94). Col. Ba Shin identifies the grass with *L.B.* phrū chaṁ [pʿyu[3]sʿã[3]], which has white plumes. The *O.B.* reading is doubtful: he reads *(so)pit*; I read *(sap)it* or *(sam)it*.

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Saccharum officinarum Sugarcane. *O. Khmer* aṁvau. *Malay, Javanese* tĕbu. *O.M.* tḅow. *L.M.* ḅau [ɓao]. *O.B.* kram reñ ("juice of the sugarcane" – Pl. 45 e); kraṁ paṅ (*I.B.* I 53[7]). *L.B.* kraṁ [tjã[3]]. *Tib.* bu-ram. *Skt.* ikṣu. *Pali* ucchu. For its history, see Burkill, II, pp. 1923–40. "The Malayan word 'Tĕbu'" he says on p. 1925, "is found from Sumatra to the farthest islands of the Pacific." See also *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 376–7.

Santalum album Sandalwood. 39, 103, 236[80], 352[16]. *Skt./Pali* candana. *Skt.* gośīrṣa candana "ox-head sandalwood"; śrī khaṇḍa (*B.* sarakkhan', θăyɛʔkʿã'). *O.B.* tancĭkū (Pl. 42 m; Lokahteikpan 166). *L.B.* candakū: [sãdăgu[4]]. *Mid. Mon* candan (XII F[51]). *L.M.* calɔn [kəlɔn]. For its history (probably Pacific in origin), see Burkill, II, pp. 1952–56; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 552, 584. Post-Vedic in India, its Indian name may well have spread with the spread of Indian religions.

Sesamum indicum 103. *O. Khmer* lṅo. *Mid.M.* laṅau (XVI[23]). *L.M.* lṅau, dṅau [təṅèa]. *Malay* lĕnga (= sesamum oil). *Senoi* sĕnūm (oil). *O.B.* nham [hnã[4]] (Pl. 41 c). *Skt.* tila (Atharvaveda); sneha (= oil). *Pali* tila; sineha. For its history (probably African in origin), see Burkill, II, pp. 1994–96; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 288–293.

Sesbania sesban [*or* **aegyptiaca**] 103. Blossom. *O.B.* rya sakleñ [pwoṅ] (Pl. 43 a, b). *L.B.* yā sakyañ:, re sakyañ:, (Judson) resūkrī: [ya[3] θătji[4]]. *Skt.* tarkārī. *Pali* takkārī. See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates, and Burkill, II, 1996–98.

Shorea [Vatica] robusta 157, 180, 313, 319, 353, 363, 385[2], 394, 396. *Skt.* śāla. *Pali* sāla. Bodhi-tree of Vessabhū, and (according to the *Nidānakathā*) of Padumuttara. This Indian tree is not recorded in Burma, but is identified with *O.M.* cra', and tintãñ, tiñtãñ, *L.M.* dhithãn [tʿiʔtʿan], and *O.B.* aṅkryaṅ (**Pentacme suavis,** q.v.).

Solanum melongena Egg-plant, brinjal. *O.B.* bhattakiy (?). See Pl. 45 f, and U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates. Seems to be connected with *Skt.* vārtākī, *Pali* vātiṅgaṇa. The plant, which grows freely all over Burma, both hills and plains, is now commonly called in *L.B.* kharaṁ: [kʿăyã[4]]; and *kharam* occurs as the name of a village in *O.B.* (*I.B.* II 229[4]). The *L.M.* name is khaḍoṅ [həɗoṅ]. *Malay* tĕrong. *Khmer* nanoṅ.

Tamarindus indica 107. Tamarind, "Indian Date". *O.M.* maṅglañ, maṅgleñ (*I.B.* III 300[3], 301[12]). *L.M.* maṅglan [mèaṅ klòn]. *O.B.* maṅklañ. *Shan* mak-kiṅ. *Siam.* maḥ khām. The *Skt./Pali* names are quite different: *ciñcā, tintiḍikā, amlakā*, etc. Also the *Old Khmer* aṁvil. For its history, see Burkill, II, pp. 2121–24.

Tectona grandis Teak, the great timber-tree of Burma and Siam. *O.B.* kywan (*I.B.* III 246[5]). *L.B.* kywan: [tjõ[4]]. *L.M.* chu kla [cʿuʔklaʔ]. *Shan, Siam.* săk. v. Burkill, II, pp. 2127–29.

Terminalia chebula 393, 394. Yellow or black myrobalan tree, full of tannin, "astringent and bitter". Hence its Burmese name *phan khã*: [pʿã[3]kʿɑ[4]]. In Mon the name of the tree is either *gacwa'* [həcɒʔ], or *khamǫw* [həmò]. *Skt./Pali* harītakī, "yellow myrobalan". v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 378, 581.

Terminalia belerica. Belleric myrobalan. *O.B.* secchim (Pl. 44 h), sacchim' (*I.B.* I 75 a[45], etc.). *L.B.* sacchim' [θɪʔ sʿẽ']. *L.M.* ma kluiw [mɛ̀ʔklɜ]. *Skt./Pali* vibhītakī.

Vigna catjang Cow Pea. *O.B.* pāy lwam (Pl. 41 d). *L.B.* pai:lwan: [pɛ[4] lõ[4]]. Query *L.M.* ḅai loṁ [ɓoa lòm] = chick pea? Pè or Bè, the general term for beans, is widespread in Old Mon/Khmer (both North and South), Karen, and Old Burmese; but not in Dai languages.

Vitis vinifera 103. The Grape Vine from the Mediterranean East. Not grown in Burma. The *L.B.* word for the Grape, capyak (zãbyɪʔ), is probably from Persian *zabīb* "raisin". *O.B.* mathunsarā (Pl. 42 b), from *Skt./Pali* madhurasa (lit. "sweet taste"), seems most likely to mean the Grape, since local words for its other meanings (honey, sugarcane, etc.) were readily available. v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 220–245, especially p. 241.

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Wrightia spp. ? *O.B.* lak thut-pwoṅ [lɛʔ tʿoʔ blossom] (Pl. 45 c). Of the three applications given to this term by Hundley and Chit Ko Ko, *Wrightia* seems the most probable because of its "pretty flowers". *Alstonia scholaris* (q.v.) is already provided with the *O.B.* name *cañrañ*. See U Wun's note in the Catalogue of Plates.

Xylia dolabriformis 385[2], 396. "A tree pre-eminently of Burma, found also in Siam" (Burkill, II, 2274). "Pyinkado (Burmese ironwood . . . found almost throughout Burma . . . . reaches a height of 120 ft." (Rodger, *Handbook of the Forest Products of Burma*, p. 40). *O.M.* prāñ [pran], given as the Bodhi-tree of Koṇāgamana in Lokahteikpan – a strange mis-identification of Pali *udumbara*. *O.B.* plañ (*I.B.* IV 421 b[3] – where it was used for the poles of a palanquin). Probably *L.B.* pyaṅ: katui: [pyĩ[4] kădo[4]), "musk-ironwood".

Zingiber officinale Ginger. *O.B.* kheṅ (*I.B.* III 310 a[19]. *L.B.* khyaṅ: [djĩ[4]]. *Shan, Siam.* khiṅ, etc. v. A.S.C. Ross, *Ginger – a loan-word study* (1952, Philological Society).

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OLD BURMA CALENDAR

Most calendrical terms, both in Old Mon and Old Burmese inscriptions, derive from the old sky-worship of the Sun, Moon and five Planets, common to Indo-Aryan astrology.

Days of the week

Sunday — Vedic *Aditi*, Infinite Space, was mother of the 12 *Āditya* gods, ruling (it seems) the 12 months of the year. The Sun (*Sūrya* in the narrow sense) embraced the *Āditya* in a broader sense, determining the full year (*saṁvatsara*), reckoned in the *Ṛgveda* as 360 days.

O.M. ādittawār (IX C[22]), ādityawār (Lamphun, Vat Don A[9]). *Mid. Mon* aduit (XII E[53]). L.M. aduit [ətɜ̀t].

O.B. tannhāṅkunuy (*I.B.* I 22[3]), tannhaṅkanuy (I 27[2]), 1 nweiy (I 19[5]), etc. Comparing this obscure term with the similar term for Monday (tannhăṅ-lā), we can perhaps suppose that *tannhaṅ* implies 'heavenly body', and kunuy, kanuy means 'sun': if so, it may probably be a corruption of *O.M.* tṅey = sun; and *-lā* may be Tibetan *zla* = moon.

Monday — Moon-day. French *Lundi* (Latin *lunae dies*). Sanskrit *candra*, "shining one".

O.M. candrawār (IX B[12]). *Mid. M.* can (XII E[39]). *L.M.* can [cɔn].

O.B. tannhāṅlā, tanhaṅlā, 2 lā (*IB* I 4[2], 17[1]).

Tuesday — Day of *Tiw* = the planet Mars. French *Mardi* (Latin *Martis dies*). Sanskrit *Aṅgāra*, the "fire-brand" planet.

O.M. aṅgār (IX C[12]), aṅgārwār (Lamphun, Vat Don B[13]). *L.M.* aṅā [əṅèa].

O.B. aṅkā, aṅgā, 3 kā (*I.B.* I 14[2], 91[15]).

Wednesday — Day of Woden or Odin = the planet Mercury. French *Mercredi* (Latin *Mercurii dies*). Sanskrit *Budha* "the wise".

O.M. buddhawār (IX L[5]). *Mid. M.* buddhawā (XII E[59]). *L.M.* buddhawā [pùt-həwèa].

O.B. puttaho, buddhahū, buḍḍahū, puttahū (*IB* I 8 b[3], 9 a[4], 13[2]), butahū (II 112[1]), 4 hū, 4 niy (I 30 a[9]).

Thursday — Day of Thor = the planet Jupiter. French *Jeudi* (Latin *Jovis dies*). Sanskrit Bṛhaspati, "the lord of prayer".

O.M. brahaspatiwār (IX E[21]). *Mid. M.* brabbati (XVII[11]); brabbahasyati (*ASB*, 1939, p. 24). *L.M.* braubati [prèapətɔeʔ].

O.B. krispati (*IB* II 111[2]), krāsbatiy (IV 365 b[1]), krāsapatiy, krasapatiy, 5 patiy, 5 neiy (I 7[1], 15[3], 24[2], 94 a[24]; IV 374[1]).

Friday — Day of Frig, wife of Odin = the planet Venus. French *Vendredi* (Latin *Veneris dies*). Sanskrit *Śukra*, "the bright one".

O.M. sukrawār (V[52]). *Mid. M.* sok [XII E[39]). *L.M.* suik [sak].

O.B. sukrā, sukkrā, sokkrā, 6 krā, 6 niy (*IB* I 8 a[2], 10 a[6], 12[2], 19[29], 69[1]; II 113[2]).

Saturday — Day of Saturn = Skt. *śani*, śanaiscara, the "slow-moving" planet.

O.M. sniscarwār (IX D[43]). *Mid. M.* sṅisyor (XII G[19]). *L.M.* sṅisaw [hɔeʔsɔ].

O.B. caniy, o niy (*IB* I 28 a[2], b[3], 104[13]).

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The Twelve Months of the year

These, in Sanskrit, are named after the heavenly bodies near which the full moon of each month is seen to pass. Old, Middle and Late Mon terms follow the Sanskrit. Old Burmese has its own names, many of which look non-Burmese in origin, but still await definitive explanation. In timing, they correspond strictly to the Mon/Sanskrit calendar. Modern Burmese has lost three of these old names: *Mlwāytā* (Wazo), *Naṁkā* (Wagaung), and *Santū* (Thadingyut); which, falling within the period of the Buddhist Lent, have now taken on instead the old names originally confined to the full-moon-days of the three months.

March/April — *Sanskrit* Caitra
O.M. Cey (IX L[5]). *Mid. M.* Cay (XVII[11]). *L.M.* Cai [coa].
O.B. Tankho, Tankhŭ (*IB* I 22[3]; II 116[1], 121 b[1]). *L.B.* Taṁkhū:, Taṁkū: [tăgu[4]]

April/May — Sanskrit Vaiśākha
O.M. Besākha (V[52]). *Mid. M.* Basāk (XII F[35]). *L.M.* Pasāk [pəsaik].
O.B. Kūchūn, Khuchun, Kuchun, Kachun (*I.B.* I 7[1], 24[1], 30 a[9]; II 113[2], 124 b[11]). *L.B.* Kachun [kăsʿõ[3]].

May/June — *Sanskrit* Jyeṣṭha
O.M. Jestha (Lamphun, Vat Don A[9]). *Mid. M.* Jih (XII F[37]). *L.M.* Jeh [cèh].
O.B. Naṁyun, Namyun (*I.B.* I 36[7], 108 a[1]). *L.B.* Nayuṁ [năyõ[3]].

June/July — *Sanskrit* Āṣāḍha
O.M. Āsāt (? IX O[8]). *Mid. M.* Āsāt, Asāt (XII E[53, 59]). *L.M.* Asāt, Daguin [hə̀kɜ̀n].
O.B. Mlwăytā, Mlwaitā (*I.B.* I 6[1], 8 a[2]). *L.B.* Wāchui (*lit.* to keep Lent) [wɑ[3] zo[3]]. *Wā* from Vedic *varṣa* "rain; rainy season; year".

July/August — *Sanskrit* Śrāvaṇa
O.M. Srāwan (? VI[3]). *L.M.* Swan; Gaḍai Sī [hə̀ɗoa sɔe] "middle of Lent."
O.B. Naṁkā (*I.B.* I 60 a[1]); Naṁkā la Wakhoṅ satan (IV 419 a[2]). *L.B.* Wākhoṅ [wɑ[3] gɑũ[3]], "top of Lent".

August/September — *Sanskrit* Bhādra, Bhādrapada
L.M. Bhat [phòt].
O.B. Tuiṅsalaṅ (*I.B.* I 60 a[9]); Tawslaṅ, Tawsalaṅ, Tāauslaṅ (*I.B.* I 14[1], 37[2], 90[1]). *L.B.* Tôsalaṅ: [tɔ[3] ðălĭ[4]].

September/October — *Sanskrit* Āśvina, Āśvayuj
Mid. M. Asut (XII F[47, 49]). *L.M.* Asut.
O.B. Santŭ (*I.B.* I 19[5], 29[1]; II 112[1]). *L.B.* Sataṅ:kywat (*lit.* "release from Lent") [θădĭ[4] djʊʔ].

October/November — *Sanskrit* Kārttika
O.M. Kărtik (IX B[11]; Nagayôn gloss[5]). *Mid. M.* Gratuik (Bangkok Museum[4]). *L.M.* Kathuik, Kathuin [kətʿɒn].
O.B. Tanchoṅmhun (*I.B.* I 10 a[5]). *L.B.* Tanchoṅmun: [tăzɑũ[3] mõ[4]].

November/December — *Sanskrit* Mārgaśīrṣa, Mārgaśiras, Mṛgaśīrṣa
O.M. [Mrigasiras VI[2]]. *Mid. M.* Mrikkasuiw, Mruikkasuil (XII G[19], K[8]). *L.M.* mrākkasuiw [pərò̀ikkəsɒ].
O.B. Nattăw (*I.B.* I 13[2], 73[54], 94 b[25]). *L.B.* Nattô [nădɔ[3]].

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December/January *Sanskrit* Pauṣa, Puṣya
L.M. Puh [paoh].
O.B. Plaseīw, Plasuw, Plăsuiw (*I.B.* I 4^2, 7^4, 15^2, 27^1). *L.B.* Prāsui [pyɑ^3 ðo^3].

January/February *Sanskrit* Māgha
O.M. Māgha (IX C^{17}). *Mid. M.* Māk (XII A^3). *L.M.* Māk [màik].
O.B. Tapuiwthway, Tapuiw'thway (*I.B.* I $98^{1,12}$). *L.B.* Tapui'thwai: [tăbo'-dwè^4].

February/March *Sanskrit* Phālguna
O.M. Phallagun, Phalagun (IX C^{21}, E^{21}). *Mid. M.* Phallaguin, Phârlaguin (XII E^{39}, $N^{4,10}$). *L.M.* Phawraguin [p'ɔrəkɜ̀n].
O.B. Tapoṅ (*I.B.* II 111^2; I 12^1). *L.B.* Tapoṅ: [tăbɑũ^4].

Note. The O. B. month-names *naṁ-yun, naṁ-kā,* as well as O. B. *naṁ-nāk* (*I. B.* I 36^9) "morning", and L. B. *naṁ* "day of the week on which one is born" and *naṁ-gruih* "planet presiding at birth", point to a connection with Tibetan *gnam, gnam-mk'a,* "the heaven, the sky". O. B. *yun* "hare" may also connect with *yos,* which figures in Tibetan as a month-name, as well as in the Twelve Year Cycle. But nothing else in these *O. B.* month-names suggests the Twelve Animals so widespread in the calendars of Asiatic languages (see Chavannes, "Le Cycle Turc des Douze Animaux", *T'oung-pao,* Série II, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1906).

Three Eras

I. *Era of the Religion.* This era in Burma is always reckoned from the date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa,* which in Singhalese sources is dated 544 B.C. (Modern scholars in general tend to date this event round about 478 B.C.: see *Cambridge History of India* I, p. 697). Reckoned from 544 B.C., this era is frequently used in Burma's inscriptions, often side by side with the Common Era, but sometimes by itself. The following dates previous to 1200 A.D. may be cited: –

(i) *I.B.* III 299 (Bodhgayā Burmese inscription, now lost. Final date: 657 *s.*/1295–6 A.D.). It begins with a reference to *Siri Dhammasoka* building his 84,000 pagodas in "the 218th year of the Lord's Religion". – This is the conventional date for Aśoka's *abhiṣeka,* as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ch. V, v. 21).

(ii) *I.B.* II 110. This inscription, from a mound S.E. of the Nagayôn, and now at Pagán Museum, W. Shed, Stone 134, belongs (palaeographically) to the latter half of the Pagán dynasty. It begins with the date "1625 of the Buddha's Religion, 443 *s.*", i.e. 1081–2 A.D., and records a dedication of ricefields at *Calaṅ* (Salin) by *Jaysabhaṅ.* The date is about 3 years before Kyanzittha's accession. The *sambeṅ Jeysabhaṅ* is mentioned again, some twenty years later, in Kyanzittha's palace-inscription (*Ep. Birm.* III, I, Inscr. IX A^{36} – see Text, p. 68, n. 139).

(iii) The first dated original inscription of Pagán, that of Rājakumār, begins on all four faces with the accession of his father Kyanzittha "in the 1628th year of the Lord's Religion", i.e. 1084 A.D. (v. Text, p. 74).

(iv) *I.B.* V 572 a (W. face of Stone 149 in Mandalay Palace Shed). Provenance unknown, but certainly original. It records a dedication of pagoda-slaves in 1735 A.B./553 *s.*, i.e. 1191 A.D.

(v) *I.B.* I 9 a (Mandalay Palace Shed, Stone 292). Provenance unknown, but certainly original. It records a dedication of pagoda-slaves in 1737 A.B./555 *s.*, i.e. 1193 A.D.

(vi) A small two-faced stone, formerly at the Payagôn, W. Wetkyi-in, Pagán, now at Kyanzittha Ônhmin. The obverse is dated 512 *s.*/1150 A.D. The reverse, in similar hand, is dated 1741 of the Religion, i.e. 1197 A.D.

II. *Era of the Śakas* (*Mahāsakarāja*). Founded by the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka in 78 A.D. Owing to the Śakas' patronage of Buddhism, their era became popular with the spread of the Religion. But

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by the time it reached Central Burma, it was no more than a name, applicable to any Buddhist era, but generally confined, in its proper sense, to inscriptions in Sanskrit or Pali. Thus Cañsū I's Shwégu-gyi inscription (v. Text, p. 85) is in Pali; but the concluding lines, giving the dates of the first building and the completion of the temple, in 1053 *M.S.* (1131 A.D.), are in Sanskrit (v. *I.B.* I $2^{44, 45}$).

III. *The Common Era* (*Cūḷasakarāja*). This era, starting from 638 A.D., is often called the Burmese Era; and it is the era commonly used in Burmese inscriptions throughout the Pagán and subsequent periods. But it was also used before them in Lower Burma, in Kyanzittha's earliest Mon inscriptions: – Prome Inscr. VI^2 *sakarāja cnām* 455, "the year 455 of the Saka era", i.e. 1093 A.D.; Mt. Kelāsa Inscr. V^{51} *sakarāja* 460, i.e. 1098 A.D.; and Kyaik Tè inscription (*I.B.* V 549^{49}) (same date). It is also virtually certain that it was used by the Pyu, apparently under the name *ta ki°kha*, in the royal stone urn-inscriptions of Śrī Kṣetra, under the dates 35 (673 A.D.), 50 (688 A.D.), 57 (695 A.D.) and 80 (718 A.D.) – see Blagden's "The Pyu Inscriptions", *Epig. Ind.* XII, No. 16, pp. 127–132. These dates come so near the beginning of the era that it seems probable that the Pyu invented it, and indeed that it marks the date of the founding of their first Buddhist capital in Lower Burma, Śrī Kṣetra.

It is also obvious that this era can have had no direct connection with the Śakas of North-west India. The word *sakarac* appears to have puzzled the Kyauksè Burmans when they first learnt Buddhism and writing from the local Mons in the 10th century. For in several of their mica schist ('Wébu stone') and marble inscriptions they spelt the word *sakka* instead of *saka* (*I.B.* II 161 $a^{1, 18}$; V 571 b^1, 573 b^1, 580 a^1); and this has become the normal spelling even today, giving rise (I suspect) to the fable that it was founded by *Sakka* or Indra (v. *Glass Palace Chronicle* transl., p. 25).

Twelve Year Cycle.

The year-number in the *sakarac* is usually followed, both in Old Mon and Old Burmese inscriptions, by the Year-name (*saṁvatsara*) in the Twelve Year Cycle, the Cycle of Jupiter. As stated above, the Twelve Year Cycle in the northern and eastern languages of Asia usually consists of a fixed series of animal-names: Rat, Ox (or Buffalo), Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Goat, Monkey, Cock (or Partridge?), Dog, and Pig; and not seldom combines this duodecimal cycle with a different decimal one, thus forming a sexagesimal cycle. But Sanskrit was originally content with the duodecimal cycle, for which it employs the same names as those of the Twelve Months. Old Mon, and here also Old Burmese, follow the Sanskrit: so it is not necessary to repeat the names. The important thing is to know which year is which. It was the late J. S. Furnivall (founder of the Burma Research Society) who first worked out the correct order according to the inscriptional evidence: see his article, "The Cycle of Burmese Year-Names" (*J.B.R.S.* Vol. XII, Part II (August 1922, pp. 80–95). For ready reference, the table on p. 331 gives the system of year-names covering most of the inscriptional period of this book, both the number in the *sakarac*, and the A.D. date roughly corresponding. In reading any inscription, it is of course important to check whether the year-number agrees with the year-name. If there is any discrepancy, there has been a mistake.

CAITRA cay, cey, cetra	447 *s.* **1085** A.D.	459 *s.* **1097** A.D.	471 *s.* **1109** A.D.	483 *s.* **1121** A.D.	495 *s.* **1133** A.D.	507 *s.* **1145** A.D.	519 *s.* **1157** A.D.	531 *s.* **1169** A.D.	543 *s.* **1181** A.D.	555 *s.* **1193** A.D.	567 *s.* **1205** A.D.
VAIŚĀKHA bisyak, pisyak	448 *s.* **1086** A.D.	460 *s.* **1098** A.D.	472 *s.* **1110** A.D.	484 *s.* **1122** A.D.	496 *s.* **1134** A.D.	508 *s.* **1146** A.D.	520 *s.* **1158** A.D.	532 *s.* **1170** A.D.	544 *s.* **1182** A.D.	556 *s.* **1194** A.D.	568 *s.* **1206** A.D.
JYEṢṬHA cissa, jīs, citsa	449 *s.* **1087** A.D.	461 *s.* **1099** A.D.	473 *s.* **1111** A.D.	485 *s.* **1123** A.D.	497 *s.* **1135** A.D.	509 *s.* **1147** A.D.	521 *s.* **1159** A.D.	533 *s.* **1171** A.D.	545 *s.* **1183** A.D.	557 *s.* **1195** A.D.	569 *s.* **1207** A.D.
ĀṢĀḌHA āsāt, asat, asta	450 *s.* **1088** A.D.	462 *s.* **1100** A.D.	474 *s.* **1112** A.D.	486 *s.* **1124** A.D.	498 *s.* **1136** A.D.	510 *s.* **1148** A.D.	522 *s.* **1160** A.D.	534 *s.* **1172** A.D.	546 *s.* **1184** A.D.	558 *s.* **1196** A.D.	570 *s.* **1208** A.D.
ŚRĀVAṆA sarawan, srwān	451 *s.* **1089** A.D.	463 *s.* **1101** A.D.	475 *s.* **1113** A.D.	487 *s.* **1125** A.D.	499 *s.* **1137** A.D.	511 *s.* **1149** A.D.	523 *s.* **1161** A.D.	535 *s.* **1173** A.D.	547 *s.* **1185** A.D.	559 *s.* **1197** A.D.	571 *s.* **1209** A.D.
BHĀDRA bhassa, bhăt, phatsa	452 *s.* **1090** A.D.	464 *s.* **1102** A.D.	476 *s.* **1114** A.D.	488 *s.* **1126** A.D.	500 *s.* **1138** A.D.	512 *s.* **1150** A.D.	524 *s.* **1162** A.D.	536 *s.* **1174** A.D.	548 *s.* **1186** A.D.	560 *s.* **1198** A.D.	572 *s.* **1210** A.D.
ĀŚVINA, ĀŚVAYUJ ăsin, ăsuc, āsut	453 *s.* **1091** A.D.	465 *s.* **1103** A.D.	477 *s.* **1115** A.D.	489 *s.* **1127** A.D.	501 *s.* **1139** A.D.	513 *s.* **1151** A.D.	525 *s.* **1163** A.D.	537 *s.* **1175** A.D.	549 *s.* **1187** A.D.	561 *s.* **1199** A.D.	573 *s.* **1211** A.D.
KĀRTTIKA krătuik, kritikka	454 *s.* **1092** A.D.	466 *s.* **1104** A.D.	478 *s.* **1116** A.D.	490 *s.* **1128** A.D.	502 *s.* **1140** A.D.	514 *s.* **1152** A.D.	526 *s.* **1164** A.D.	538 *s.* **1176** A.D.	550 *s.* **1188** A.D.	562 *s.* **1200** A.D.	574 *s.* **1212** A.D.
MĀRGAŚĪRṢA mragaseir, mrikasuir, mruikasuiw	455 *s.* **1093** A.D.	467 *s.* **1105** A.D.	479 *s.* **1117** A.D.	491 *s.* **1129** A.D.	503 *s.* **1141** A.D.	515 *s.* **1153** A.D.	527 *s.* **1165** A.D.	539 *s.* **1177** A.D.	551 *s.* **1189** A.D.	563 *s.* **1201** A.D.	575 *s.* **1213** A.D.
PAUṢA pussa, phussa	456 *s.* **1094** A.D.	468 *s.* **1106** A.D.	480 *s.* **1118** A.D.	492 *s.* **1130** A.D.	504 *s.* **1142** A.D.	516 *s.* **1154** A.D.	528 *s.* **1166** A.D.	540 *s.* **1178** A.D.	552 *s.* **1190** A.D.	564 *s.* **1202** A.D.	576 *s.* **1214** A.D.
MĀGHA māgha, mākhă	457 *s.* **1095** A.D.	469 *s.* **1107** A.D.	481 *s.* **1119** A.D.	493 *s.* **1131** A.D.	505 *s.* **1143** A.D.	517 *s.* **1155** A.D.	529 *s.* **1167** A.D.	541 *s.* **1179** A.D.	553 *s.* **1191** A.D.	565 *s.* **1203** A.D.	577 *s.* **1215** A.D.
PHĀLGUNA phalaguin, phlakuin	458 *s.* **1096** A.D.	470 *s.* **1108** A.D.	482 *s.* **1120** A.D.	494 *s.* **1132** A.D.	506 *s.* **1144** A.D.	518 *s.* **1156** A.D.	530 *s.* **1168** A.D.	542 *s.* **1180** A.D.	554 *s.* **1192** A.D.	566 *s.* **1204** A.D.	578 *s.* **1216** A.D.

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Twelve Houses (Signs of the Zodiac)

Often (especially in Old Mon inscriptions) the *rāśi* or sign of the Zodiac ($\frac{1}{12}$th part of the ecliptic of 360°) is included in the date, the essential point being to note the Sign "sticking" (Skt. *lagna*) to the eastern horizon at the given moment, i.e. in the ascendent. The twelve terms for these, both in Mon and Burmese, are taken from Sanskrit, and correspond closely to the terms used in the West: –

	Latin	*Sanskrit*	*Old Mon (lagna)*	*Old Burmese (lak)*
1. The Ram	Aries	Meṣa (= ram, sheep, fleece)	mesa (IX L[9]). *L.M.* mih [mìh]	messa (IV 367 b[6]) *L.B.* missa
2. The Bull	Taurus	Vṛṣabha, Vṛṣa	brisa (? IX D[43]). *Mid. M.* bruih (XVII[11]). *L.M.* bruih [prɜ̀h].	*L.B.* prissa
3. The Heavenly Twins	Gemini	Mithuna (= a pair)	methun (*IB* V 549[52]). *L.M.* methun [mət'un]	methun (IV 366[17]) *L.B.* met'un.
4. The Crab	Cancer	Karka, Karkaṭa	karka (IX G[16]). *Mid. M.* krakat (XVII[11]). *L.M.* krakat [praʔkɔt]	kakkha (I 61[6]). *L.B.* karakaṭ
5. The Lion	Leo	Siṁha, Mṛgarāja ("king of beasts" I 2[44])	siṅgha (IX J[29]). *L.M.* siṅ [soiṅ]	siṅkha (I 36[7]). *L.B.* sin [θẽ[3]]
6. The Virgin	Virgo	Kanyā	kanya (V[54], VI[4]). *L.M.* kan [kɔn]	*L.B.* kan [kã[3]]
7. The Scales	Libra	Tulă	*L.M.* tū [tao]	tŭla (III 311 a[8], IV 367 b[4]). *L.B.* tū [tu[3]]
8. The Scorpion	Scorpio	Vṛścika	bricchā, bricika (? IX O[9], L[17]) *L.M.* bicchā [pìtcha]	*L.B.* pricchā
9. The Archer	Sagittarius	Dhanus (= bow)	*L.M.* dhanu [t'ənùʔ]	dhanu (I 71[2]). *L.B.* dhanu
10. The Capricorn (Horned Goat)	Capricornus	Makara (sea-monster)	makar (Pl. 329[9]). *L.M.* makaw [məkɔ]	makāra (IV 453 b[5]). *L.B.* makāra
11. The Water-pot carrier	Aquarius	Kumbha (waterpot)	*L.M.* kuṁ [kum]	*L.B.* kuṁ [kõ[3]]
12. The Fishes	Pisces	Mīna	mĭna (IX F[2, 12]). *Mid. M.* min (XII M[33, 38]). *L.M.* min [mìn]	minna, min [I 4[3], IV 368 b[3]] *L.B.* min [mẽ[3]].

One other auspicious *lagna*, mentioned frequently in *O.M.* (IX A[12], B[38], E[44], G[4], L[2], Q[6]) is *godhulĭ*, Sanskrit *godhūli*, "earth-dust" (? cattle-dust), the moment at sunrise or sunset when mist rises from the earth (when cattle go out to, or return from, pasture ?).

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28 *Nakṣatras or Lunar Mansions.*

"Nakṣatra", says the Vedic Index, "is a word of obscure origin and derivation. ..... The sense of 'star' appears to be adequate for all, or nearly all, the passages in which Nakṣatra occurs in the *Ṛg Veda*". In the *Atharva Veda* 28 constellations are enumerated, marking the ecliptic, the apparent path of the moon in the heavens. It makes one revolution, apparently among these stars, in 27 to 28 days; so *Abhijit* was added at the end of the earlier list of 27 Nakṣatras. It has been often pointed out that, whether by borrowing or independent observation, Indian Nakṣatras show striking correspondences, both with Arabic *manâzil*, and with the 28 Chinese 宿 *hsü* "mansions" (*Grammata Serica* 1029 *siôk. For a list of these, see H. A. Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, 1912 ed., Vol. I, pp. 26–27). According to Henri Maspero (*La Chine Antique*, 1965 ed., pp. 512–3), the *hsü* appear in Chinese texts towards the end of the 4th century B.C., and very likely more than a century earlier. The Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter was also introduced into China "about 375 B.C." For a discussion of all these matters, including the influence of Greek science (from the 5th cent. B.C.) on Indian *Siddhānta* literature, see Prof. Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, t. II, pp. 177–194, 720–738.

As I am not a mathematician, all I can do here is to record the meagre evidence in the inscriptions of our period, down to about 1200 A.D. Over a dozen of the 28 Nakṣatras are mentioned by name. In Post-Pagán inscriptions they are usually noted by their number in the series: –

(i) *O.M.* Inscr. VI$^{2-4}$. – Prome, Shwéhsandaw, Kyanzittha's first inscription: "In the year of the *sakarāja* 455, [year-name] *Mrigasiras*, on Friday the .... waxing moon of *Srāvan*, *Uttara Phalguṇī* nakṣatra, *Kanya lagna* [sc. Virgo in the ascendent]." *Uttaraphalgunī* is the 12th lunar mansion.

(ii) *O.M.* Inscr. V$^{51-55}$. – Kyanzittha's Mt. Kelāsa inscription (from Myatheindan pagoda, Ayetthèmā, some 30 miles north of Thatôn). Blagden received poor rubbings of this inscription, and his readings can be improved by comparison with the Kyaiktè duplicate, *I.B.* V 549$^{49-53}$. There are two dates, recording the engraving and the setting up of the inscription. "In 460 of the *sakarāja*, year-name (*sambacchar*) *Besākha*, on Friday the 3rd of the waxing moon of *Besākha*, *Hasṭa* nakṣatra, 4 *nāḍī* precisely (? *tmin*); entering *Citra* nakṣatra, (*Śūla*) *joga*, *Kanya lagna* [Virgo in the ascendent]. At that time this stone inscription was engraved. On Thursday the 9th of the waxing (?) moon of *Besākha*, *Uttara Bhādrapada* nakṣatra, *Siddhi joga*, *Methun lagna* [Gemini in the ascendent], 3 *nāḍī* and 1 *pāt* precisely. At that time this stone inscription was set up."

Hasta and *Citra* are the 13th and 14th lunar mansions; *Uttarabhadrapadā* the 26th. *Joga* doubtless refers to the 27 *yoga*, or time-measurements of the movements of the sun corresponding to the 27 *nakṣatra* of the moon. For the list of both, see *L'Inde Classique*, t. II, p. 734; but the correspondences of Yoga and Nakṣatra there noted, no not seem to agree with those given in our inscription .A. *nāḍī* (*O.B.* nǎḍī, nārī) was a period of 24 minutes measured on the tubular stalk or reed (Skt. *nāḍika*), serving as a water-clock (clepsydra). A *pāt* (Skt. *pāda*) was ¼ of a *nāḍī*, i.e. 6 mins. These terms, and also *pahar*, *pahir* (Skt. *prahara*, a "striking"), equivalent to *ghaṭī* = 7½ *nāḍī*, a day-watch of 3 hours, are frequently mentioned in Kyanzittha's palace-inscription.

(iii) *O.M.* Inscr. IX F^{36}. – "the auspicious time of 2 *pahir*, *Hasta* nakṣatra, *Methuna lagna* [Gemini in the ascendent]".

This was the great day (Friday, March 7th, 1102) when, after months of elaborate ceremonial, the posts of the Throne-room were set up in the presence of the king. But see Blagden's note (*Ep. Birm.* III, I, p. 53, n. 1): – "The time was apparently six hours after true sunrise, i.e. about 11·47 a.m. On that day Mithuna was *lagna* from 11·16 a.m. to 1·16 p.m. but the lunar mansion Hasta was no longer current, having ended at 3.30 p.m. on the preceding afternoon. This is one of the several cases in these dates which seem to throw some doubt on the correct identification of the year or the applicability of the reckoning employed. Cf. E 22 n.".

(iv) *I.B.* I 2$^{43-45}$. – Sanskrit conclusion of Cañsū I's Pali stone inscription in Pagán Shwégu-gyi (Pe Maung Tin's translation): – "The Cave was set up on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of

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the month of *Vaiśākha*, under the nakṣatra Uttarâṣāḍha, Leo in the ascendent, in the Śaka year 1053. This Cave was completed on Wednesday the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśiras, when the Sun was in conjunction with Indrâgnidevatā, in Śaka year 1053" (*Bull. Burm. Hist. Com.*, I, I, p. 24). 1053 M.S. = 1131 A.D. *Uttarâṣāḍhā* is the 21st lunar mansion; *Indrâgnidevatā* (=*Viśākhā*) the 16th.

(v) *I.B.* III 311 a[7-8] (Pagan Museum Stone 25, S. face). – "In ... *s.*, on Thursday the 1st day day of the waxing moon of *Tanchoṅmhun* [= Kārttika], *Svāti* (?) nakṣatra, *Tula* [Libra] in the ascendent." – This *O.B.* inscription probably dates from Cañsū I's reign, after 1131 A.D. (see Text, pp. 115–116). *Svāti* is the 15th lunar mansion.

(vi) *I.B.* IV 367 b[1-7]. *O.B.* ink-inscription in Kyazin temple (see Text, p. 391). Three dates are given: – "In 487 *s.*, year-name *Śrāvaṇṇa*, on the New Moon (*lit.* dead moon) day of *Kuchun* [= Vaiśākha], *Kritikā* nakṣatra, the donor of this Holy One, called *Bārucī*, died. In 579 *s.*, year-name *Ceyya* [= Caitra], on Thursday the 13th day of the waning moon of *Tawslaṅ* [= Bhādra], *Māgha* nakṣatra, 1st day-watch (*phuir*), 1st *nāḍī*, *Tūla lagnā* [Libra in the ascendent], the enshrinement of this cave-temple of Bārucī was made by the *Saṅ* (monk) Tra-uil. In 585 *s.*, *Asuc* [= Āśvayuj] year, on Thursday the 7th day of the waning moon of *Nattaw* [= Mārgaśiras], *Māgha* nakṣatra, *Messa lagnā* [Pisces in the ascendent], at the time of the 3rd day-watch (*phuir*), the monk Tra Uil named this Holy One. The name is *Trai-lok-luḥoḥ buil* [*O.M.* 'Strong Comfort of the Three Worlds']." *Kṛttikā* is the 3rd lunar mansion, *Magha* the 10th.

(vii) *I.B.* I 4[1-3]. Ajāwlat's inscription in the Dhammayan-gyi temple (see Text, p. 111; *Bull. Burm. Hist. Com.* I, II, pp. 239–255. "In 527 *s.*, year-name *Mragaseir*, on Monday the first day of the waning moon of *Plaseīw* [= Pauṣa], *Pusya* nakṣatra, *Minna lagnā* [Pisces in the ascendent], 1st day-watch (*p=heīr*), 2nd *naḍī* ....." *Puṣya* is the 8th lunar mansion.

(viii) *I.B.* I 9 a[1-5]. This small *O.B.* inscription, of unknown origin, is now Stone 292 in Mandalay Palace Shed. It begins: – "When (1737) years of the Lord's Religion had elapsed, in 555 *s.* (year-name *Jai*) [Caitra], on Wednesday the 1st day of the waxing moon of ..... (*Abhic*)*it* nakṣatra" .....*Abhijit* is inserted as the 22nd lunar mansion (before *Śravaṇa*).

(ix) *I.B.* I 14[1-2]. The W. face of Stone 12 at Pagán Museum, one of the thirty Burmese inscriptions collected from the Mahābodhi enclosure. Here (I surmise, see Text, pp. 7–8) they were taken for safety, when the N.W. corner of the city was eroded by the river in the middle of the Pagán dynasty. "In 558 *s.*, year-name *Āsāddha*, on Tuesday the 9th day of the waning moon of Tawslaṅ [= Bhādra], *Punabbasu* [= Punarvasu] nakṣatra". *Punarvasu* is the 7th lunar mansion.

(x) *I.B.* IV 368 b[1-5], 369 a, b, c. Ink inscriptions on the walls at Cañsū II's Dhammarājaka pagoda, duplicating parts of the broken stone inscription (*I.B.* I 19, 20), which is here defective. This is the oldest extant original stone inscription by a king of Pagán. There are 3 dates: – "In 558 *s.*, *Āsat* [Āśāddha] year, on Sunday the 13th day of the waxing moon of *Santū* [= Āśvina], king Cañsū offered, by the pouring of pure water, the wages ..... for the building of the royal pagoda at *Sacmatī*. In 559 *s.*, *Saravan* year, on Friday the 7th day of the waxing moon of *Santū*, *Mūla* nakṣatra, *Min lak* [Pisces in the ascendent], 3rd day-watch (*phui'*), he began to build ..... In 560 *s.*, *Phatsa* [Bhādra] year, on (approximately) Friday the 2nd day of the waning moon of *Santū*, having set the crown on (the pagoda), he 'released' the following dedications .....". This final date, according to U Ka, was Friday, Sept. 8th, 1198 A.D. *Mūla* is the 19th lunar mansion.

(xi) *I.B.* II 116[1-2]. Mica schist [Wébu stone) inscription at Hsutaungpyi pagoda, N.W. of Sunyè village, Kyauksè township. "In the year 559, on Sunday the full moon of *Tankhū* [Caitra], *Hasta* nakṣatra". *Hasta* is the 13th lunar mansion.

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A Tribute to U Ka.

At my request, U Ka, late Principal of Rangoon University and Professor of Mathematics, did valuable research on the Old Burma Calendar, with the object of checking and relating it to the Julian Calendar of the West. Unfortunately, our materials were lost during the last War, when the Japanese occupied Burma and nearly all our work perished. Until hundreds of inscriptions had been located, re-stamped, re-read, and re-indexed, it was not possible for U Ka to resume his task or bring it to fruition. But perhaps it is of interest to leave on record (so far as a non-mathematician is capable) a statement of the various methods tried, and the final method chosen, if very imperfectly achieved.

So far as Early Pagán is concerned, the fullest inscriptional evidence is in Mon, and has been given above. The fullest detail is in Kyanzittha's palace inscription; but in what remains of it, no year-date is mentioned. Dr. Blagden called in the help of the eminent authority on Indian chronology, Sir Robert Sewell (v. *Epig. Birm.* III, I, pp. 2–3, and n. 1 on p. 3), who determined the dates (no doubt correctly) as 1101–02 A.D., and worked out the details according to Indian rules. But in several cases these ran counter to the written evidence. One or two instances are cited above, leaving Blagden in doubt "on the applicability of the reckoning employed". Such doubts were strengthened when Blagden went on to edit the Middle Mon inscriptions of the Kalyāṇī sīmā, Pegu (1479–80 A.D.). Meantime the learned Indian scholar, Mr. Swami Kannu Pillai, had attempted to check the dates in two of the six' elephant volumes' of Burma inscriptions (v. *A.S.B.* 1922, pp. 14, 46–58; 1924, pp. 30–35, 64–101). He asserted, naturally enough, that "the most reliable guide in the verification of dates is the *Sūrya siddhānta*"; but Blagden faulted his calculation of at least 5 of the 17 "leading verifiable dates" in the inscription he was editing, which had led Mr. Pillai "to contradict the distinct statement of our record (both Pali and Mon) that the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalated in the year" (1476 A.D. – v. *Epig. Birm.* III, II, pp. 86–87; also pp. 289–290).

Another brave attempt, from the Burma side, had been made, long before, by Sir Alfred M. B. Irwin, author of *The Burmese Calendar* (London, 1901) and *The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (Rangoon, 1909). At the suggestion of Sir Richard Temple, Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, and the original 'begetter' of the six elephant volumes, he added a supplement (v. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov. 1910, pp. 289–315) "with a view to facilitating the calculation and verification of Burmese inscriptional dates for the period before A.D. 1739. It is compiled on the assumption that the rules of Makaranta were observed in Burma from 0 to 1100 B.E. = A.D. 638–1738 .... The present table ... must be taken only as a working hypothesis for these 1101 years". – According to Sewell and Dikshit (*The Indian Calendar*, 1896, p. 8), the *Makaranda* was composed at Benares in 1478. So one can rule out all direct influence of the work on our Pagán inscriptions, apart from the common debt to the (4th century ?) *Sūrya siddhānta*.

Duroiselle, in his preface to *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma* (Rangoon, 1921), gently criticises the six elephant volumes on which his list was based: their modernized spelling, negligent copying, unreliable dates. The chief criticism which I should add is that many of the inscriptions classified as "original" are not in fact so. Even when their dates are correctly read, many can be proved by their palaeography and spelling to date from a period centuries later. Some volumes are better than others. The first, "Pagan, Pinya and Ava", is the best. The last, "A" (Patodawgyi, Amarapura), is the worst. None, in my opinion, is a trustworthy substitute for rubbings of the original stones. My job was just to make my own readings, copy each date on separate cards, noting or bracketing everything doubtful, and so supply U Ka with evidence as accurate as I could make it.

U Ka, a pious Muslim born and bred in Mandalay, knew well the old 'pônna' U Seinda and his son U Lokisara, who, like the *saṁkrānti* Brahmans of Kyanzittha's reign, have year by year been responsible for compiling the Burma Calendar. They followed the Makaranda or Saṁdiṭṭha systems as set forth by the great Burmese mathematician of king Mindôn's reign, the Kanni Atwinwun (v. *Makaranta-bedaṅ-lakrui*: – *ṭīkā* (Yadanadipan Press, Mandalay, 1905).

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U Ka's first step was to test the inscriptional dates of the Pagán period by Irwin's list in the *Indian Antiquary*. The great majority of Burmese inscriptions are content to give the year in the Common Era, often the year-name, the day of the waxing or waning month, and the weekday. If year and year-name agree, the only means of testing is by the weekday. If the weekday as stated agreed with the weekday required by the system, U Ka marked it *O*. The maximum error was thus ± 3. Out of 359 dates tested, only 91 gave an *O* result. In 3 cases the stated month-day did not occur at all in the year required by the system.

In every 19 years (the old Greek Cycle of Metôn) 7 leap-months (and sometimes leap-days) are added in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th and 18th year of the cycle. But the Burmese Court was apt to take liberties, we are told, and sometimes substituted the 8th and 16th for the 7th and 15th. U Ka experimented with this substitution, but the results were worse and not better.

He then considered whether the weekday given in the inscriptions might refer to the *tithi*, lunar day, rather than the *dinavāra*, solar or planetary day. This appears to have been a common method in Indian inscriptions; but the word *tithi* does not occur, so far as I am aware, in Pagán inscriptions, except in horoscopes near the very end of the dynasty, where it is contrasted with the "religious day" (*sāsanā ryak*) which was the normal day. The horoscope cited on p. 82 of the Text (*I.B.* V 609 a), where the "7th religious day" is equated with the "6th lunar day according to astrology, a Saturday", is dated 664 *s.*/1303 A.D.

After many fruitless experiments U Ka decided to give up the attempt to fit the Pagán dates into a pre-conceived system, but to compile instead an experimental calendar, breaking existing rules only when necessary, in order to suit the maximum number of the best data of the inscriptions. I went through my cards, marking as **1** those which I considered first class, **2** those that seemed good but (often owing to the absence of the year-name, or because they were not the final date in the inscription) not first class, **3** those of inferior quality, not negligible but open to some degree of doubt, and **4** those which could be safely neglected, often because they were not 'original', i.e. shown by their writing or spelling *not* to date from the Pagán period. This method, we both thought, led to much more satisfactory conclusions, though carelessness cannot be ruled out even in 'first class' dates. To establish the correctness of such a calendar, there must be a continuous minimum of good dates in each successive year. This minimum was not available before *Cañsū II*'s reign; and dates are none too numerous before the accession of his son *Nātoṅmyā* in 573 *s.*, Āśvina year, on Thursday the 10th waxing of Tawthalin = Thursday, August 18th, 1211, according to U Ka's calculation. The date is confirmed by more than one inscription. From that date onwards, if not earlier, it may be possible to reconstruct the Pagán calendar with probability, if not certainty.

I find among my papers (we had to leave Burma in a hurry) four pages in U Ka's clear handwriting, giving the gist of his reconstruction of the calendar from 570–663 *s.* (Burmese Era)/1208–1301 A.D. It gives, year by year, the exact time of the 'Thingyan Tet' (Solar New Year), the number of days in each month (Tagu to Tabaung) including leap-months, with the Julian equivalent of the first day in each month. It was compiled in pre-War days; and at this distance of time I cannot recall if it was his final word on the calendar. But of its great value I have no doubt. It is reproduced in facsimile in pocket at end of this volume). In my own handwriting of the same period, I find the following notes which are perhaps worth quoting: –

"The beginning of the Burmese Era given at the head of Irwin's table in the Indian Antiquary, viz. 2nd waxing of Tagu, 0 *s.* = March 22nd, 638 A.D., 11 hours, 11 minutes, 24 seconds – U Ka has verified and found correct".

I.B. III 269[1] – 645 *s.*, Āśvina year, Sunday the 12th waxing of Nayôn leap-month (*adhimat naṁyun*).

I.B. IV 395[19] – 664 *s.*, Vaiśakha year, Friday the 12th waxing of Mlwaytā leap-month (*thimhat so mlwaytā*).

I.B. V 609 a (2) – 656 *s.*, Sunday night, 5th waxing of Nayôn leap-month (*thimhassa la naṁyun*). – A horoscope.

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"Since Nayôn and Mlawytā (= Wazo) are both mentioned as leap-months, it seems natural to suppose that the difference between these leapmonths would be equivalent to the difference between ordinary Nayôn and Wazo, viz. that the former should have 29, and the latter 30 days. U Ka, however, finds that in the two years, 645 and 656 *s.*, when Nayôn leapmonth is explicitly mentioned, it is impossible, in view of the data, to give Nayôn less than 30 days. He has therefore come to the conclusion that since the leapmonth fell between Nayôn and Wazo, either name was used to designate it. As a matter of fact, in every case he has found it possible to give the leapmonth 30 days. The doubtful features in the Old Burmese calendar naturally relate especially to the leapmonth system. What system there was, if any, can only be solved, it seems, experimentally with reference to the data of the inscriptions. After much experiment U Ka has constructed his calendar for this period on the following principles: –

(i) that in each Metonic cycle of 19 years (counted from 0 to 18), there were 7 leap years as at present, but fixed as the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 18th in the series.

(ii) the leapmonth had always 30 days.

"Now a Metonic cycle of 19 years should contain approximately 6940 days; whereas a cycle constructed on the above-stated principles would contain only 6936 days. There are therefore about 4 extra days to be provided for: not 4 exactly, since the cycle does not contain a purely integral number of days. U Ka's method has been to insert these extra days according as the data of the inscriptions required".

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B.E.	A.D.	Tagu 29	Kason 30	Nayon 29	Intercalary month	Wazo 30
570	1208	Tues Mar 18	Wed Apr 16	Fri May 16		Sat Jun 14
571	1209	Sat Mar 7	Sun Apr 15	Tues May 5		Wed Jun 3
572*	1210	Wed Feb 24	Thur Mar 25	Sat Apr 24	Sun May 23	Tues Jun 22
573	1211	Tues Mar 15	Wed Apr 13	Fri May 13		Sat Jun 11
574	1212	Sat Mar 3	Sun Apr 1	Tues May 1		Wed May 30
575*	1213	Wed Feb 20	Thur Mar 21	Sat Apr 20	Mon May 20	Wed Jun 19
576	1214	Wed Mar 12	Thur Apr 10	Sat May 10		Sun Jun 8
577*	1215	Sun Mar 1	Mon Mar 30	Wed Apr 29	Thur May 28	Sat Jun 27
578	1216	Fri Mar 18	Sat Apr 16	Mon May 16		Tues Jun 14
579	1217	Wed Mar 8	Thur Apr 6	Sat May 6		Sun Jun 4
580*	1218	Sun Feb 25	Mon Mar 26	Wed Apr 25	Fri May 25	Sun Jun 24
581	1219	Sun Mar 17	Mon Apr 15	Wed May 15		Thur Jun 13

Tabo 29	Taby 30	Thingyan Tet (Sola New year)
Wed	Thur	Tagu 9 = Mar 26 Wed 22h 53m 24s
7 Feb 5		
Mon	Tagu 21 = Mar 27 Fri 5h 6m 0s	
Jun 25		
Sun	Kason 3 = Mar 27 Sat 11h 18m 36s	
Feb 13		
Thur	Tagu 13 = Mar 27 Sun 17h 31m 12s	
Feb 2		
Mon	Tagu 24 = Mar 26 Mon 23h 43m 48s	
Jun 21		
Mon	Kason 7 = Mar 27 Wed 5h 56m 24s	
10		
	Tagu 16 = Mar 27 Thur 12h 9m 0s	
30		
	Tagu 27 = Mar 27 Fri 18h 21m 36s	
	Tagu 10 = Mar 27 Sun 0h 34m 12s	
	Tagu 20 = Mar 27 Mon 6h 46m 48s	
	Kason 2 = Mar 27 Tues 12h 57m 24s	
	Tagu 11 = Mar 27 Wed 19h 12m 0s	
	Tagu 23 = Mar 27	

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B.E	A.D.	Tagu 29	Kason 30	Nayon 29	Intercalary month	Wazo 30	Wag 29	Taw 30	Thad 29	Taz 30	Nadaw 29	Pya 30	Tabo 29	Tabg 30	Thingyan Tet (Solar New year)
642	1280	Sat Mar 2	Sun Mar 31	Tues Apr 30		Wed May 29	Fri Jun 28	Sat Jul 27	Mon Aug 26	Tues Sept 24	Thurs Oct 24	Fri Nov 22	Sun Dec 22	Mon Jan 20	Tagu 26 = Mar 27 Wed 14h 0m 36s
* 643	1281	Wed Feb 19	Thurs Mar 20	Sat Apr 19	Sun May 18	Tues Jun 17	Thurs Jul 17	Fri Aug 15	Sun Sept 14	Mon Oct 13	Wed Nov 12	Thurs Dec 11	Sat Jan 10	Sun Feb 8	Kason 8 = Mar 27 Thurs 20h 13m 12s
644	1282	Tues Mar 10	Wed Apr 8	Fri May 8		Sat Jun 6	Mon Jul 6	Tues Aug 4	Thurs Sept 3	Fri Oct 2	Sun Nov 1	Mon Nov 30	Wed Dec 30	Thurs Jan 28	Tagu 19 = Mar 28 Sat 2h 25m 48s
* 645	1283	Sat Feb 27	Sun Mar 28	Tues Apr 27	Wed May 26	Fri Jun 25	Sun Jul 25	Mon Aug 23	Wed Sept 22	Thurs Oct 21	Sat Nov 20	Sun Dec 19	Tues Jan 18	Wed Feb 16	Kason 1 = Mar 28 Sun 8h 38m 24s
646	1284	Fri Mar 17	Sat Apr 15	Mon May 15		Tues Jun 13	Thurs Jul 13	Fri Aug 11	Sun Sept 10	Mon Oct 9	Wed Nov 8	Thurs Dec 7	Sat Jan 6	Sun Feb 4	Tagu 11 = Mar 27 Mon, 14h 51m 0s
647	1285	Tues Mar 6	Wed Apr 4	Fri May 4		Sat Jun 2	Mon Jul 2	Tues Jul 31	Thurs Aug 30	Fri Sept 28	Sun Oct 28	Mon Nov 26	Wed Dec 26	Thurs Jan 24	Tagu 22 = Mar 27 Tues 21h 3m 36s
* 648	1286	Sat Feb 23	Sun Mar 24	Tues Apr 23	Thurs May 23	Sat Jun 22	Mon Jul 22	Tues Aug 20	Thurs Sept 19	Fri Oct 18	Sun Nov 17	Mon Dec 16	Wed Jan 15	Thurs Feb 13	Kason 5 = Mar 28 Thurs 3h 16m 12s
649	1287	Sat Mar 15	Sun Apr 13	Tues May 13		Wed Jun 11	Fri Jul 11	Sat Aug 9	Mon Sept 8	Tues Oct 7	Thurs Nov 6	Fri Dec 5	Sun Jan 4	Mon Feb 2	Tagu 14 = Mar 28 Fri 9h 28m 48s
650	1288	Wed Mar 3	Thurs Apr 1	Sat May 1		Sun May 30	Tues Jun 29	Wed Jul 28	Fri Aug 27	Sat Sept 25	Mon Oct 25	Tues Nov 23	Thurs Dec 23	Fri Jan 21	Tagu 25 = Mar 27 Sat 15h 41m 24s
* 651	1289	Sun Feb 20	Tues Mar 22	Thurs Apr 21	Sat May 21	Mon Jun 20	Wed Jul 20	Thurs Aug 18	Sat Sept 17	Sun Oct 16	Tues Nov 15	Wed Dec 14	Fri Jan 13	Sat Feb 11	Kason 6 = Mar 27 Sun 21h 54m 0s
652	1290	Mon Mar 13	Tues Apr 11	Thurs May 11		Fri Jun 9	Sun Jul 9	Mon Aug 7	Wed Sept 6	Thurs Oct 5	Sat Nov 4	Sun Dec 3	Tues Jan 2	Wed Jan 31	Tagu 16 = Mar 28 Tues 4h 6m 36s
* 653	1291	Fri Mar 2	Sat Mar 31	Mon Apr 30	Tues May 29	Thurs Jun 28	Sat Jul 28	Sun Aug 26	Tues Sept 25	Wed Oct 24	Fri Nov 23	Sat Dec 22	Mon Jan 21	Tues Feb 19	Tagu 27 = Mar 28 Wed 10h 19m 12s
654	1292	Thurs Mar 20	Fri Apr 18	Sun May 18		Mon Jun 16	Wed Jul 16	Thurs Aug 14	Sat Sept 13	Sun Oct 12	Tues Nov 11	Wed Dec 10	Fri Jan 9	Sat Feb 7	Tagu 8 = Mar 27 Thurs 16h 31m 48s
655	1293	Mon Mar 9	Tues Apr 7	Thurs May 7		Fri Jun 5	Sun Jul 5	Mon Aug 3	Wed Sept 2	Thurs Oct 1	Sat Oct 31	Sun Nov 29	Tues Dec 29	Wed Jan 27	Tagu 19 = Mar 27 Fri 22h 44m 24s
* 656	1294	Fri Feb 26	Sat Mar 27	Mon Apr 26	Tues May 25	Thurs Jun 24	Sat Jul 24	Sun Aug 22	Tues Sept 21	Wed Oct 20	Fri Nov 19	Sat Dec 18	Mon Jan 17	Tues Feb 15	Kason 2 = Mar 28 Sun 4h 57m 0s
657	1295	Thurs Mar 17	Fri Apr 15	Sun May 15		Mon Jun 13	Wed Jul 13	Thurs Aug 11	Sat Sept 10	Sun Oct 9	Tues Nov 8	Wed Dec 7	Fri Jan 6	Sat Feb 4	Tagu 12 = Mar 28 Mon 11h 9m 36s
658	1296	Mon Mar 5	Tues Apr 3	Thurs May 3		Fri Jun 1	Sun Jul 1	Mon Jul 30	Wed Aug 29	Thurs Sept 27	Sat Oct 27	Sun Nov 25	Tues Dec 25	Wed Jan 23	Tagu 23 = Mar 27 Tues 17h 22m 12s
* 659	1297	Fri Feb 22	Sat Mar 23	Mon Apr 22	Tues May 21	Thurs Jun 20	Sat Jul 20	Sun Aug 18	Tues Sept 17	Wed Oct 16	Fri Nov 15	Sat Dec 14	Mon Jan 13	Tues Feb 11	Kason 5 = Mar 27 Wed 23h 34m 48s
660	1298	Thurs Mar 13	Fri Apr 11	Sun May 11		Mon Jun 9	Wed Jul 9	Thurs Aug 7	Sat Sept 6	Sun Oct 5	Tues Nov 4	Wed Dec 3	Fri Jan 2	Sat Jan 31	Tagu 16 = Mar 28 Fri 5h 47m 24s
661	1299	Mon Mar 2	Tues Mar 31	Thurs Apr 30		Fri May 29	Sun Jun 28	Mon Jul 27	Wed Aug 26	Thurs Sept 24	Sat Oct 24	Sun Nov 22	Tues Dec 22	Wed Jan 20	Tagu 27 = Mar 28 Sat 12h 0m 0s
* 662	1300	Fri Feb 19	Sun Mar 20	Tues Apr 19	Thurs May 19	Sat Jun 18	Mon Jul 18	Tues Aug 16	Thurs Sept 15	Fri Oct 14	Sun Nov 13	Mon Dec 12	Wed Jan 11	Thurs Feb 9	Kason 8 = Mar 27 Sun 18h 12m 36s
663	1301	Sat Mar 11	Sun Apr 9	Tues May 9		Wed Jun 7	Fri Jul 7	Sat Aug 5	Mon Sept 4	Tues Oct 3	Thurs Nov 2	Fri Dec 1	Sun Dec 31	Mon Jan 29	Tagu 18 = Mar 28 Tues 0h 25m 12s

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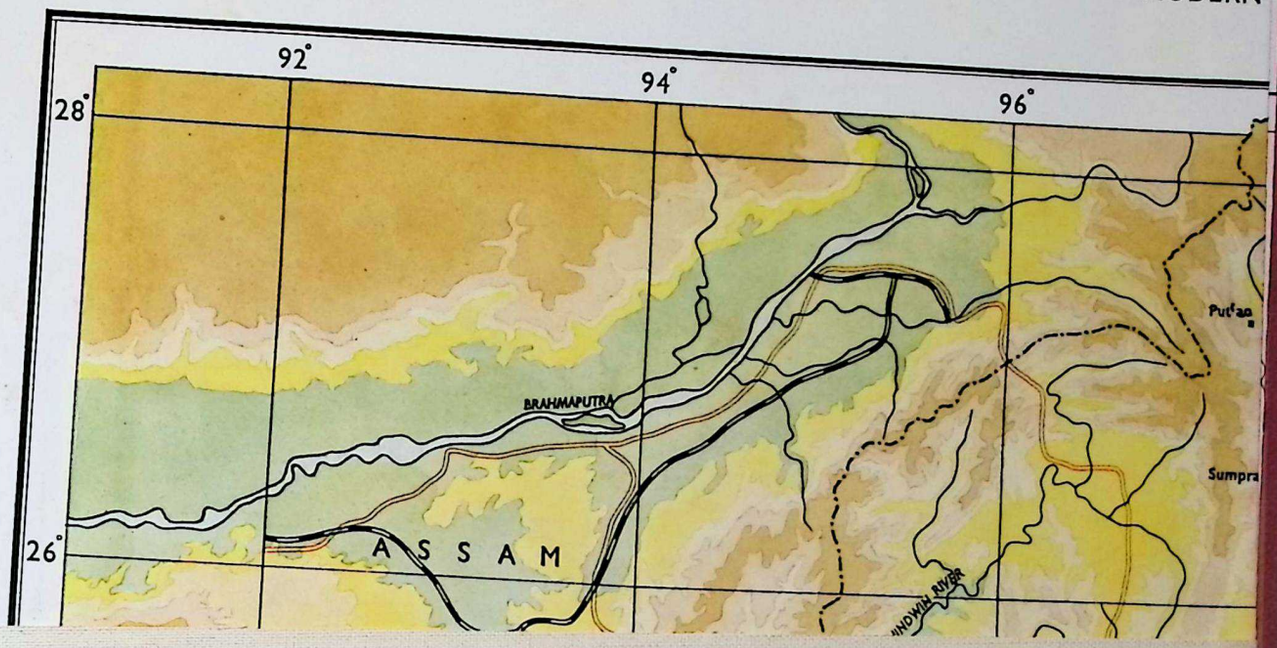
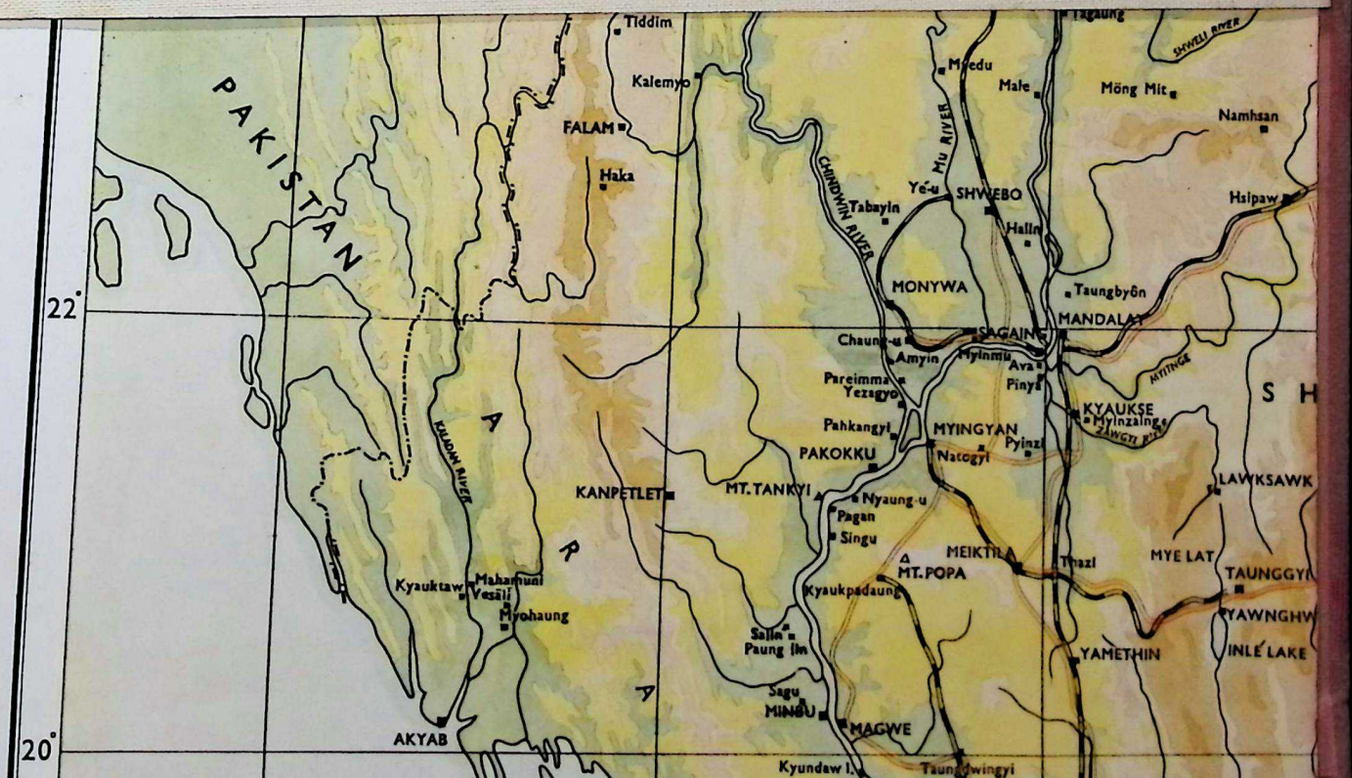
MODERN





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NAMES, TITLES, AND REGNAL DATES OF THE KINGS OF PAGÁN

NAME AS WRITTEN IN INSCRIPTIONS	POPULAR MODERN NAME	U KULĀ, MAHA-YAZAWINGYI	REGNAL YEARS	HMANNAN YAZAWIN	REGNAL YEARS	JĀTĀTÔPUṀ YAZAWIN	REGNAL YEARS	PROVISIONAL CORRECTIONS	INSCRIPTIONAL TITLES, REFERENCES, etc.
CAW RAHAN (Pl. I 36[1])	Nyaung-u Saw Rahan (Taungthu-gyi)	279–312 *s.* **917–312 A.D.**	33	293–326 *s.* **931–964 A.D.**	33	318–363 *s.* **956–1001 A.D.**	45		
KLOṄ-PHLŪ-MAṄ (Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngè Ink inscr.)	Kunhsaw Kyaung-hpyu	312–333 *s.* **950–971 A.D.**	21	326–348 *s.* **964–986 A.D.**	22	363–383 *s.* **1001–1021 A.D.**	20		
	Kyi-zo	333–339 *s.* **971–977 A.D.**	6	348–354 *s.* **986–992 A.D.**	6	383–400 *s.* **1021–1038 A.D.**	17		
	Sôkkaté	339–364 *s.* **977–1002 A.D.**	25	354–379 *s.* **992–1017 A.D.**	25	400–406 *s.* **1038–1044 A.D.**	6		
ANIRUDDHA (ANURUDDHA)	Anawrahta-minzaw	364–397 *s.* **1002–1035 A.D.**	33	379–421 *s.* **1017–1059 A.D.**	42	406–439 *s.* **1044–1077 A.D.**	33	406–439 *s.*? **1044–1077 A.D.**?	Mahārāja Śrī Aniruddhadeva (votive tablets).
MAṄ LULAṄ (Pl. I 60 a[3]) CO LU (List 32[1])	Saw Lu	397–423 *s.* **1035–1061 A.D.**	26	421–426 *s.* **1059–1064 A.D.**	5	439–446 *s.* **1077–1084 A.D.**	7	439(?)–446 *s.* **1077(?)–1084 A.D.**	Śrī Bajrābharaṇadeva (votive tablets).
T'ILUIṄ MAṄ (Pl. I 60a[4], IV 365 b[2])	Kyanzittha	425–450 *s.* **1063–1088 A.D.**	25	426–454 *s.* **1064–1092 A.D.**	28	446–473 *s.* **1084–1111 A.D.**	27	446 (1628 A.B.)–475 *s.* **1084–1113 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-dhammarāj (Old Mon inscrs.).
CAÑSŪ [I] (Pl. V 476[10, 12, 13]; List 73[1]) (Jeyyasūra)	Alaung Sithu	450–520 *s.* **1088–1158 A.D.**	70	454–529 *s.* **1092–1167 A.D.**	75	473–529 *s.* **1111–1167 A.D.**	56	475–517/522 *s.* **1113–1155/60 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-pavaradhammarājā (Pl. I 2[41]). Saktawrhañ (Pl. I 60 a[4]). Chaṅ-phlū-skhiṅ Rhuykūdāyakā (Pl. III 311 b[18]). Aloṅ-cañsū (List 48[1]).
ĪM-TAW-SYAṄ (Pl. I 60 a[5]) KULĀ-KYA (List 96, 398)	Narathu	520–523 *s.* **1158–1161 A.D.**	3	529–533 *s.* **1167–1171 s.**	4	529–532 *s.* **1167–1170 A.D.**	3	517/522–527 *s.* **1155/60–1165 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-varadhammarājā (votive tablets).
	Min Yin-Naratheinkha	523–526 *s.* **1161–1164 A.D.**	3	533–536 *s.* **1171–1174 A.D.**	3	532–535 *s.* **1170–1173 A.D.**	3	Interregnum, **1166–1173 A.D.**	
JEYYASŪRA (Pl. I 19 a[14]) CAÑSŪ [II] (Pl. IV 369 a[1])	Narapati Sithu (Pl. 1 60a[5])	526–559 *s.* **1164–1197 A.D.**	33	536–573 *s.* **1174–1211 A.D.**	37	535–572 *s.* **1173–1210 A.D.**	37	536–573 *s.* **1174–1211 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhuvanādityopavarapaṇḍitadhammarājā Narapati . . . (Pl. I 19[13]). For date of accession, see Sagaing, Khinmun, Minsawhla inscr., Obv.[8].
NĀDOṄMYĀ (Pl. I 63 a[2]) NĀTOṄ SKHIṄ (Pl. I 41[3]) ŪCINĀ (Pl. I 36[4])	Zeyyatheinkha Nantaungmya	559–581 *s.* **1197–1219 A.D.**	22	573–596 *s.* **1211–1234 A.D.**	23	572–596 *s.* **1210–1234 A.D.**	24	573–*c.* 592 *s.*(?) **1211–*c.* 1230 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhavanādityāpavaradhammarājā (Pl. I 31[2]). For date of accession, see Pl. I 90[1].
NARASIṄGHA-UJJANĀ (UCCANĀ)								*c.* 592(?)–597 *s.* *c.* **1230–1235 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājādhirāja (Pl. II 138[1], 200[1]).
KLACWĀ (Pl. II 181[2])	Kyazwa	581–596 *s.* **1219–1234 A.D.**	15	596–612 *s.* **1234–1250 A.D.**	16	596–611 *s.* **1234–1249 A.D.**	15	597–*c.* 611 *s.* **1235–*c.* 1249 A.D.**	Caw-krī (Pl. III 234[28, 32]). For date of accession, see Pl. I 90[14–15], II 181[1–2].
UCCANĀ (Pl. II 158[14]) UTCANĀ (Pl. III 235[5])	Uzana	596–602 *s.* **1234–1240 A.D.**	6	612–617 *s.* **1250–1255 A.D.**	5	611–616 *s.* **1249–1254 A.D.**	5	*c.* 611–617 *s.* *c.* **1249–1255 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhavanapavaradityadhammarājā Jeyyasūr (Pl. II 164[1]). Son of Minwaing Phwazaw (Pl. III 235[5]). *Tala pyaṁ maṅ*, "the king who died at Tala" (Pl. III 296[1]; II 158[18]).
MAṄ YAN (Pl. II 218 a[2], 219 b[1])	Thihathu (*G.P.C.* 158–9)							*d.* 617 *s.* *d.* **1255/6 A.D.**	
CAÑSŪ (Pl. II 218 a[5], 219 b[5]) UTCANĀ (Pl. III 234[3]) TARUK-PLIY-MAṄ (Pl. V 463[8], 471[13])	Narathihapate (List 382[3]) Min-khwé-chi	602–646 *s.* **1240–1284 A.D.**	44	617–652 *s.* **1255–1290 A.D.**	35	616–649 *s.* **1254–1287 A.D.**	33	617–649 *s.* **1255/6–1287 A.D.**	Śrī Tribhuvanādityāpavaradhammarājā (Pl. III 234[3], 247[4], 249[3]). Grandson of the Turner (*panpwat saṅ*, Pl. III 296[5]). *Panpwat saṅ* (Pl. II 186[8]). *Panpwat puthuiw tāw dāyakā*, sc. Donor of the Mingalazedi (Pl. II 158[2, 18]). Grandson of Minwaing Phwazaw.
TALA SUKRI (Pl. IV 392[16]) KLAWCWĀ (Pl. V 580 a[3]) RHUY-NAN-SYAṄ (Pl. III 287 a[4], IV 417[2]) NAN-KLA-MAṄ (Pl. III 286[2])	Headman of Dalla Kyawzwa Lord of the Gold Palace Dethroned king	648–662 *s.* **1286–1300 A.D.**	14	648–660 *s.* **1286–1298 A.D.**	12	649–662 *s.* **1287–1300 A.D.**	13	Interregnum **1284–1288 A.D.** 650–659 *s.* **1288–1297 A.D.**	Abhiṣeka 651 *s.*/**1289 A.D.** (Pl. III 282[1]). Dethroned 659 *s.*/**1297 A.D.** (Pl. III 286[2]). Murdered (May 10th, **1299**).
MAṄ LULAṄ (Pl. III 290 b[3], 292[28]) TSOU-NIEH (CO NAC) (Chinese)	Saw Nit	665–687 *s.* **1303–1325 A.D.**	22	662–689 *s.* **1300–1327 A.D.**	27	662–693 *s.* **1300–1331 A.D.**	31	661–696(+) *s.*? **1299–1334(+) A.D.**	Abhiṣeka 661 *s.*/**1299 A.D.** (Pl. III 290 b). *Chaṅ-phlū-skhiṅ*, Śrī Tribhavanādityāpavaradhammarājā (Pl. IV 390[5–6], 451[2–3]).
KUMĀRAKASSAPA TAK-TAU-MŪ MAṄKRĪ (Pl. IV 396a[4], b[1])								662–663 *s.* **1300–1301 A.D.**	*Taruk praṅ lā so Tak-tau-mū maṅkrī* (Pl. IV 396 a[4], b[1]), "the king who came from China and ascended the throne".

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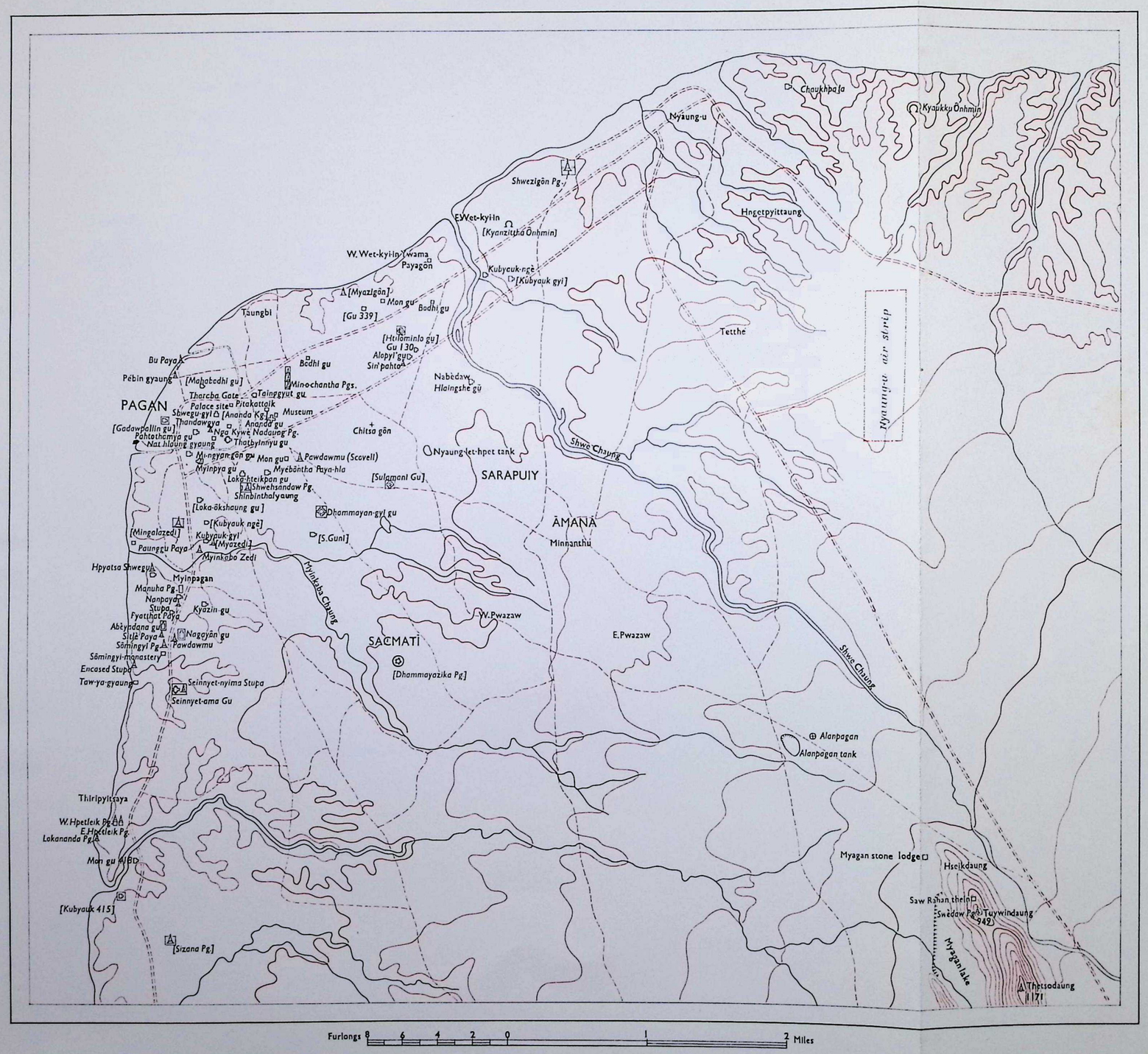
PAGÁN AND ITS ENVIRONS

as it was in the

MIDDLE PAGÁN PERIOD (c.1050-1165 A.D.)

with some later buildings shown in square brackets.



NAME AS WRITTEN IN

CAW RAHAN (Pl. I 36[1])

KLOṄ-PHLŪ-MAṄ
(Myinkaba Kubyauk-ng

ANIRUDDHA
(ANURUDDHA)
MAṄ LULAṄ (Pl. I 60 a[3]
CO LU (List 32[1])
T'ILUIṄ MAṄ (Pl. I 60a

CAÑSŪ [I] (Pl. V 476[10], 1
(Jeyyasūra)

ĪM-TAW-SYAṄ (Pl. I 60
KULĀ-KYA (List 96, 398

JEYYASŪRA (Pl. I 19 a[1]
CAÑSŪ [II] (Pl. IV 369 a

NĀDOṄMYĀ (Pl. I 63 a[2]
NĀTOṄ SKHIṄ (Pl. I 4
ŪCINĀ (Pl. I 36[4])

NARASIṄGHA-
UJJANĀ (UCCANĀ)
KLACWĀ (Pl. II 181[2])

UCCANĀ (Pl. II 158[14])
UTCANĀ (Pl. III 235[5])

MAṄ YAN (Pl. II 218 a[2],

CAÑSŪ (Pl. II 218 a[5], 219
UTCANĀ (Pl. III 234[3])
TARUK-PLIY-MAṄ (Pl

TALA SUKRI (Pl. IV 39
KLAWCWĀ (Pl. V 580 a[2]
RHUY-NAN-SYAṄ (Pl.
NAN-KLA-MAṄ (Pl. III

MAṄ LULAṄ (Pl. III 29
TSOU-NIEH (CO NAC)

KUMĀRAKASSAPA
TAK-TAU-MŪ MAṄKR

, TITLES, REFERENCES, etc.

ya (votive tablets).

ve tablets).

marāj (Old Mon inscrs.).

radhammarājā (Pl. I 2[41]). Saktawrhañ
hiṅ Rhuykūdāyakā (Pl. III 311 b[18]). Aloṅ-

hammarājā (votive tablets).

apaṇḍitadhammarājā Narapati ...
ession, see Sagaing, Khinmun, Minsawhla

dhammarājā (Pl. I 31[2]). For date of ac-

dhammarājādhirāja (Pl. II 138[1], 200[1]).

or date of accession, see Pl. I 90[14–15],

adhammarājā Jeyyasūr (Pl. II 164[1]). Son
Pl. III 235[5]). *Tala pyaṁ maṅ*, "the king
I 296[1]; II 158[18]).

adhammarājā (Pl. III 234[3], 247[4], 249[3]).
(*panpwat sañ*, Pl. III 296[5]). *Panpwat sañ*
nthuiw tāw dāyakā, sc. Donor of the
). Grandson of Minwaing Phwazaw.

(Pl. III 282[1]). Dethroned 659 s./1297 A.D.
May 10th, 1299).
Pl. III 290 b). *Chaṅ-phlū-skhiṅ*, Śrī Tri-
mmarājā (Pl. IV 390[5–6], 451[2–3]).
-mū maṅkrī (Pl. IV 396 a[4], b[1]), "the king
nd ascended the throne".

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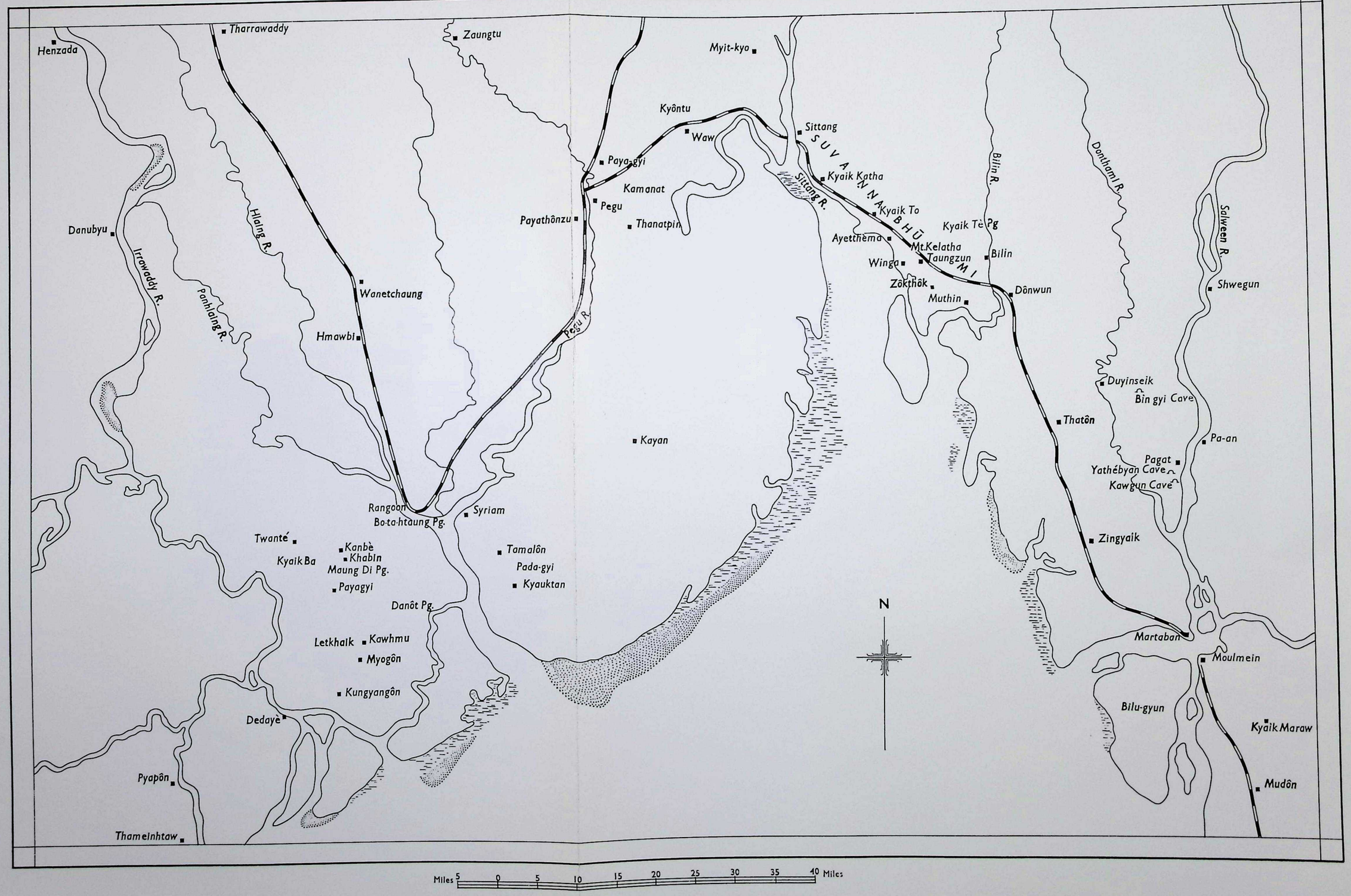
R Ā M A Ñ Ñ A D E S A



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Ayetthèma	*Old Mon* KYĀK TALAṄ (1098 A.D.). *Mid Mon* TUIK GALĀ, *Pali* GOḶA-MATTIKA (1479 A.D).
Bilin	*Old Burm.* PILAṄ (1266 A.D.).
Botahtaung Pg.	*Mon* KYĀK DE:AP.
Danubyu	*O.B.* TANU-PHLŪ (1400 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* DHANU-PLU (1479 A.D.).
Hlaing R.	*Mid. Mon* LHUIṄ (1479 A.D.).
Hmawbi	*O.B.* MOPĪ (1400 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* MUH BĪ (1479 A.D.).
Irawady R.	*O.B.* ERĀVATĪ (1442 A.D.).
Kanbè	? *O.B.* MOLAÑĀ (1198 A.D.).
Kelatha Mt.	*O.M.* KELĀSA-PARVVATA (1098 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* KELĀSA-POW (1479 A.D.).
Khabin	*O.B.* KRAPAṄ (1198 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* KRABAṄ-DAMYOṄ ('Black Krabaṅ'). *Pali* KABBAṄGA.
Kun-gyan-gôn	*Mid. Mon* PṢĀ KROM (1479 A.D.). *Pali* KAMBOJĀPAṆA.
Kyaik Ba	*O.M.* KYĀK ḆĀR ('Two Pagodas').
Kyaik Maraw	*Mid. Mon* KYĀK MRAH (1455 A.D.).
Kyaik Tè Pg.	*O.M.* PRĀSĀT MAHĀDHĀT SATIH (1098 A.D.).
Letkhaik	*O.B.* LAKHRIT, LAKKHRIT (1191 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* LAKKHRET (1479 A.D.). *Pali* LAKKHIYAPURA.
Martaban	*O.B.* MUTTAMA (1326 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* MATTMA, MATMA (1479, 1493 A.D.). *Pali* MUTTIMA.
Moulmein	*O.B.* MALALAṀ KRUṄ–WA 'river mouth' (1266 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* MAT LAM-LUIM, (1479 A.D.). MAHLAMLUIM (1527 A.D.).
Pa-an, Pagat	? *O.M.* DU'WOP (early XI$^{th.}$ cent. A.D.).
Pegu	*O.B.* PAYKŪ (1266 A.D.), USSĀ PAIKU (1442 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* BAGO, PAGO, PUGO (1479 A.D.). *Pali* HAṄŚĀBATI (1292 A.D., Siam). HÅṀSAVATĪ (1479. A.D.). USSĪ (1266 A.D.)
Rangoon	? *O.B.* HENBUIW, *Pyu* JI° VŪ: (1113 A.D.). *O.B.* YHANPUIW (1198 A.D.). ? TAKUN (1400 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* DGUṄ (1479 A.D.). *Pali* TIGUMPA.
Salween R.	*O.B.* SALWAṄ MLAC (1196 A.D.). SANLWAṄ MLAC (1292 A.D.).
Sittang	*Mid. Mon* SATOṄ (1479 A.D.).
Suvaṇṇabhūmi	*Mid. Mon* SUWAṆṆABHUṀ (1479 A.D.).
Syriam	*O.B.* SANLYAṄ (1400 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* SREṄ (1479 A.D.).
Tharawady	*O.B.* SARAWĀDI, SĀYĀWATĪ (1400 A.D.).
Thatôn	*O.M.* RAKṢA PURA (*c.* 1050 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* SUDHUIM, SADHUIM (1479 A.D.).
Twanté	*O.B.* TALA (1198 A.D.), TALA MRUIW (1296 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* DALA (1479 A.D.).
Wanet Chaung	? *Mid. Mon* BHIMAPŪRA (1479 A.D.).
Winga	*Mid. Mon* TUIK GALĀ, *Pali* GOḶAMATTIKA (1479 A.D.).
Zingyaik	*Mid. Mon* YAṄṄIM (1479 A.D.).
Zôkthôk	*Mon* JUKSOK.
[Add (not shown on map):-]	
Kawliya	*Mid. Mon* KOLIYA (1479 A.D.).
Palè ridge	*Mid. Mon* KLON PALĀY (1479 A.D.).
Myaungmya	*O.B.* ROṄMLA (1400 A.D.), ROṄ MRA (1442 A.D.).
Bassein	*O.B.* PUSIM (1264 A.D.). *Mid. Mon* KUSIM. *Pali* KUSIMA (1479 A.D.).
Bassein River	*Mid. Mon* YOṄ. *Pali* YOGA (1479 A.D.).